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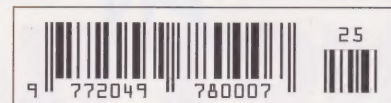


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Providing a
positive antidote to
hate and intolerance

Summer special 2016

Issue no. 25/26 Price £4.50



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A DIVIDED BRITAIN



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HOPE not hate

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anti-racist publication

Summer special 2016

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to combat them.

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Nick Lowles

EDITOR

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A country in flux

THE DECISION of British voters to leave the European Union will have a profound impact on our future and, perhaps, that of our continental neighbours.

Quite what these consequences will be remain to be seen but it is already clear that we will feel the effects politically, economically, socially and even constitutionally.

What is clear is that Britain is entering the greatest period of uncertainty since the Second World War.

Within hours of the referendum result, Prime Minister David Cameron announced his resignation and has now been replaced by Home Secretary Teresa May.

Angela Eagle, meanwhile, is challenging Jeremy Corbyn for the leadership of the Labour Party, after over 60 shadow ministers quit their posts, making a split in the party a real possibility.

Nigel Farage has resigned as UKIP leader and rumours are circulating that a new anti-immigrant party is about to be launched by UKIP's principal backer, Aaron Banks, fuelled by £10m of his own money.

The Scottish National Party, boosted by a strong Remain vote in Scotland, is pondering another independence referendum but with Spain determined to prevent it remaining in the EU for fear of encouraging the Catalans and the Basques, this might be a leap into the dark.

Despite May's insistence to the contrary, there is the possibility of a general election in the near future. Certainly, all the political parties are preparing for one.

The Brexit negotiations will dominate British politics for the next two years at least and their outcome will shape the situation for years to come.

There are many threats for HOPE not hate. There is the threat of an economic downturn as Britain decouples itself from the EU, especially if we pull out of the Single Market and this, plus further austerity, will undoubtedly result in a rise in fear and hate.

The government might choose a more free market economic approach to encourage foreign companies to stay and invest in the UK. This could lead to many of basic rights and protections being put in jeopardy.

The optimism of many who voted to Leave that life will be substantially better is likely to be short-lived and their current positivity (see our Fear & HOPE survey) could turn nasty especially if cynically exploited by a new and well-funded right-wing party.

The Labour Party's crisis could become so significant that it reduces its ability to provide coherent opposition and this can only lead to further political alienation from those communities who need a voice.

But, amidst the threats, there are also opportunities.

Our new Fear and HOPE report clearly shows there is a window to discuss immigration, integration and multiculturalism as never before. And with the new Government having to devise a new and comprehensive immigration policy for a post-EU world, there is a chance to involve people in debate and build some political credibility in a way that has been lacking in the past.

Britain's decision to leave the European Union will fundamentally change Britain. Facing this will require HOPE not hate, and every other progressive organisation to step up their game.

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INTERNATIONAL: 21ST CENTURY MOVEMENT FOR US BLACK LIVES

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 150,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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HOPE
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KIRSTY MCNEILL

Kirsty McNeill, Executive Director of Policy, Advocacy and Campaigns at Save the Children, remembers her good friend Jo Cox.



SUNDER KATWALA

Sunder Katwala, Director at British Future, says that Sadiq Khan's election to London Mayor is a victory for integration.

The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League JOEL BUSHER

AVAILABLE
FOR REVIEW
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A deeply penetrating study of a movement that shatters conventional ideas of left/right and racist/antiracist. Busher's skilled and sensitive ethnography provides new insight into how the EDL created a shared world of anti-Muslim activism, and how this world unraveled in a cycle of resentments, infighting, and skepticism.

Kathleen Blee, Distinguished Professor of Sociology,
University of Pittsburgh, USA

Busher's *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League* is a masterful piece of story-telling, sewn together with solid theoretical insights into the individual and ecological dynamics that help to explain the rise, fall, and continuity of the EDL. This "boots on the ground" approach allows us to hear clearly how members at once distanced themselves from "racist" identities while nonetheless avowing "racist" sentiments.

Professor Barbara Perry,
University of Ontario Institute of Technology, Canada

Approachably written and closely observed, this book gets inside the life world of EDL activists – a bunch of people more complicated and varied than commonly imagined. Anyone wishing to understand the complexity and the contradictions at the heart of the English Defence League should read Joel Busher's fascinating book.

Tim Bale, Professor of Politics,
Queen Mary University of London, UK

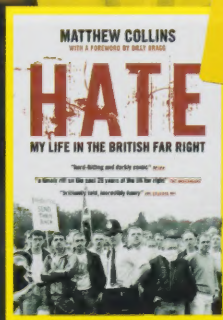
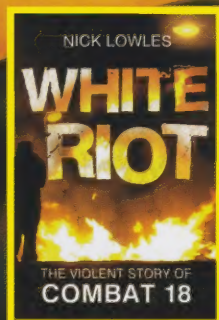
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Dover & Out for anti-immigration festival

A PROPOSED third trip to Dover by the far-right since January's unnerving riot hit the town fell flat on its face in early June with fewer than thirty people making their way to Kent for a pre-concert rally.

The "Rock Against Immigration" concert was advertised widely by the tiny nazi South East Alliance, led by former English Defence League organiser Paul Prodromou, a man with a long record of political and organising flops.

Prodromou's plan was for large numbers of fascists to invade the town and help its proposed "regeneration" by staging a two-day "rock" festival that supposedly would help reinvigorate the town's ailing and failing shops and pubs.

Prodromou also hinted the festival would be a way to improve the far right's image among locals after hundreds of fascists tore up paving stones and hurled them at the police earlier this year.

In the end, according to the local paper *"...a pathetic, embarrassing, fewer than 30 turned up at Dover Priory on Saturday. Overwhelmingly outnumbered by police as they trudged towards the Eastern Docks, forgetting the lyrics of their hate-filled chants – this was the moment the far-right became farcical."*

After hanging around for a few hours, Prodromou then drove an empty minibus to Maidstone where fewer than a dozen nazis had turned up to listen to bands like "Gentleman Hooligans." Maidstone is forty-two miles from Dover, the proposed beneficiary of the disastrous gig. An unhappy, deflated Prodromou later issued a series of threats to people who had stayed away and left him out of pocket.

He had obviously forgotten large numbers of fascists are facing jail and, in the meantime, are kept on tight bail conditions.



Nazi youth leader humiliated by mixed race teenager

THE DEPUTY LEADER of the nazi gang, National Action, has been left red-faced and humiliated after a video of him being shouted down by a mixed race teenager went viral in May.

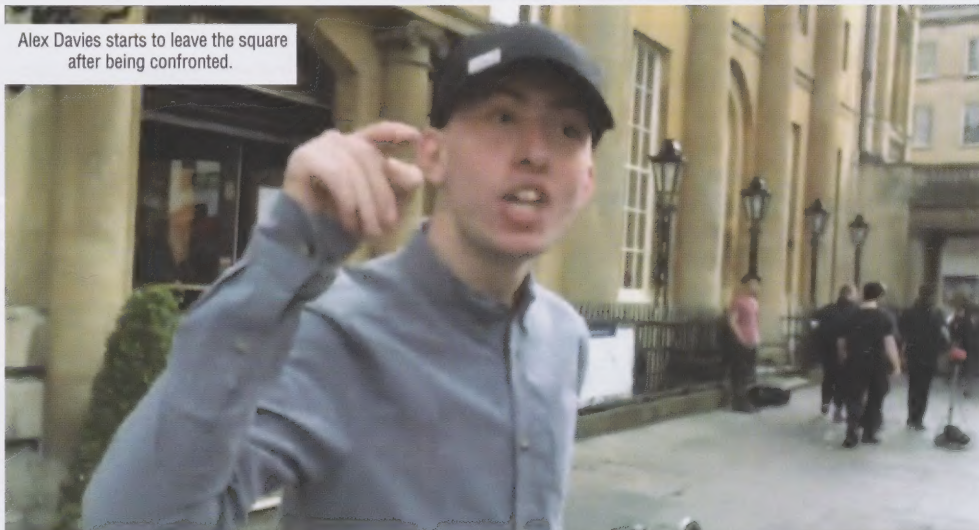
Alex Davies, a former member of the Young British National Party (YBNP) and a founder of National Action was handing out leaflets in Bath calling for an end to immigration when he was confronted by a woman and her daughter, and asked if the young girl should be "booted out".

When it was revealed the teenager was in fact mixed-race, Davies admitted he didn't know if she should be forced to leave Britain and could only respond that "she looks white to me".

As he and his small group of followers were forced to retreat from the town centre, a humiliated Davies was heckled by a large number of onlookers who had watched the confrontation gleefully. One onlooker told the humiliated young nazi to "fuck off" to loud roars of approval.

A ninety-second video published on the HOPE not hate Facebook page, received over 350,000 visitors from that source alone. It has since been relayed on another half a dozen national newspaper websites.

Alex Davies starts to leave the square after being confronted.



The crowd cheered and clapped as Davies was told to 'fuck off' and promptly obliged.



London BNP's troubles continue

THE LONDON region of the British National Party (BNP) has suffered a near-collapse after its disastrous showing in the Greater London Assembly and mayoral elections.

Party activists even clashed with former BNP councillor Paul Golding and his followers shortly before the results were announced. Golding, standing for his new party, Britain First, mainly campaigned online compared with the BNP's sporadic minor forays delivering leaflets around the outer edges of the city.

No sooner had the results been announced than Steve Squire (pictured), the ex-London BNP organiser, who had been in limbo since falling foul of the party's increasingly erratic leadership earlier this year, announced he was applying to join the rival Britain First.

After giving Squire's application some deep thought, it is understood that Britain First wrote back to Squire rejecting his application on account of his bad character which is "plain to observe for anyone that has ever read the HOPE not hate website." The BNP now has fewer than fifty members in London and the south east.



Brexit activist behind campaign to hold referendum again

Source: *The Independent*

A LEAVE campaigner, worried that Remain might win, has admitted he set up the hugely popular petition – which has garnered more than 4.1 million signatures – to re-run the EU referendum.

William Oliver Healey, an English Democrat activist, set up the petition, which asks for the EU referendum to be re-run if the remain or leave vote is less than 60%, based a turnout of less than 75% in May.

It is now the most-signed government petition since the online process was introduced in 2011. In comparison, the Block Donald J Trump from UK entry petition, which was given broad media coverage, reached 586,000 signatures. But Mr Healey is not happy that his referendum petition has become such a roaring success and has apparently disowned the petition, describing himself as its "creator, nothing more".

Far right lawyer in trouble

By *Matthew Collins*



THE *LIVERPOOL ECHO* has "exposed" a local employment lawyer as the leader of the far-right group called the British Renaissance Policy Institute two months after HOPE not hate (Hnh) drew attention to his scribbles. The Institute is closely aligned to the far-right party British Renaissance.

Hnh first noticed Joe Chiffers, a solicitor with MSB, in May after an article he wrote was published on a blog run by self-promoting former UKIP candidate Jack Sen who has built a myth around himself and his own exploits.

Despite being of Indian heritage and recently being unmasked by other far right groups for not using his true Indian name "Sengupta", Sen has taken it upon himself to try to revitalise the British far right by paying homage to failed former MEP and British National Party leader, Nick Griffin. Chiffers also chimed in with a particularly bizarre article titled "The Importance of manliness & courage in the modern world."

There followed a series of rather boorish paragraphs in which Chiffers (like Sen, a former UKIP candidate) poured scorn on liberal and modern

values in favour of almost mythical masculine characters portrayed in films.

As well as flaunting his disdain for modern manhood, Chiffers also wrote offensively about refugees and Muslims.

For some reason, Chiffers was incorrectly portrayed as a barrister in the blog that, in keeping with much of the self-aggrandising material Sen publishes about himself, lauded him as "The Indomitable" leader of the British Resistance.

Mr Chiffers stood for UKIP in Liverpool Riverside in last year's general election, winning 2,500 votes. Sen was expelled from the party over a series of antisemitic tweets sent to Liverpool MP, Luciana Berger.

Sen went on to briefly find a home in the British National Party (BNP) but later left. Because of his colour and ethnic heritage, Sen is excluded from membership by other far right groups that were not taken to court by the commission for racial equality over their membership rules like the BNP was in 2009.

Chiffers' employers have launched disciplinary proceedings.

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GERMANY | Violent neo-Nazi groups under pressure

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN IN HANOVER

GERMAN HOME secretary, Thomas de Maizière, has banned the violent nazi group, *Weisse Wölfe Terrorcrew* (WWT/ White Wolves Terror Crew). Early supporters of a nazi music band calling itself *Weisse Wölfe* founded the group in 2008.

While more a subcultural group at first, WWT evolved into a well-organised nazi group, later using the symbol of Combat 18 on its clothing. The German government's Attorney General had put a strong focus on WWT since 2012 but was not successful in defining it as a terrorist group. Led by a nazi from Hamburg, the group also had close contacts with violent Swiss nazis like Sebastien

Nussbaumer. As part of the enforcement of the ban on the WWT, police searched apartments, commercial premises, and jail cells in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Besides hate material, some weapons were found.

In Saxony, the Attorney General has taken over the investigation into a group calling itself *Bürgerwehr FTL/360*. Three out of five nazis belonging to this group have been in custody since November 2015, suspected of having attacked refugee centres and a left-wing housing project as well as conducting a bomb attack. With the Attorney General involved, indictment as a terrorist organisation looks possible.

FRANCE | France's oldest hate magazine turns 65

FROM JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

SINCE JANUARY 1951, the hate-peddling *Rivarol* magazine been available at French newsstands.

Though legal, it is filled with racist, antisemitic, Holocaust-denying articles. Regularly sued, convicted and having to pay huge sums to those it has libelled, the magazine remains alive and (quite) well with a readership of around 3,000. One can presume that many, if not most readers, are old enough to have firsthand knowledge of the "heroic" epoch when the memory of the French fascist and pro-Nazi movements was still alive. Or, at least, that they joined the far right when France's colonial war in Algeria was being fought and lost.

Rivarol started as a meeting point for those who had collaborated with the Nazis or had been active with the Vichy regime. It supported granting general amnesty to those still detained, including Nazi war criminals. It believed in white supremacy and saw the malign hand of the "Jewish conspiracy" everywhere. It also had a serious aversion to General de Gaulle because he was the Man of the

Resistance. The magazine still clings to these beliefs and the new management, headed by Catholic fundamentalist, Jérôme Bourbon, publishes vitriolic attacks on Marine Le Pen for betraying the Front National's core values.

On 8 April, around 600 diehard *Rivarol* fans attended a banquet in a Paris hotel. Jean-Marie Le Pen was there with other leading figures of the radical scene like Pierre Sidos, Yvan Benedetti and Alexandre Gabriac. Le Pen was smart enough to leave before Holocaust-denier Robert Faurisson came in to deliver his speech.

This crowd, including Le Pen, are now trying to build a coalition of all those who are unhappy with the present FN in the hope that they can find a niche on its right.

2016 has been the first year the FN did not hold a May Day parade, a function now taken up by the allies of *Rivarol* and the radicals in the far right camp who took part in the Joan of Arc parade convened by the Catholic fundamentalist movement Civitas on 8 May.



Edda Mussolini guest star at the In Memoriam Juan Ignacio Association's conference

SPAIN | Anti-fascist pressure ruins fascist conference and gig

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN VALÈNCIA

THE IN MEMORIAM Juan Ignacio Association, an outfit created by former members of the 1980s Youth Front terror gang, organised a conference in Valencia whose guest star was Edda Mussolini, granddaughter of the Italian dictator, in May. The event coinciding with the 79th anniversary of the deadly bombing of the city by the Italian air force during the Spanish Civil War, prompted tremendous condemnation and protests in the city. All political parties in the Valencian assembly issued a statement declaring the Valencian region "antifascist" and condemning hate speech.

Meanwhile, the city's Italian community and various organisations

for historical memory paid tribute to the victims of Mussolini's bombers. In the afternoon, thousands of anti-fascists marched through the city against the fascist summit, held in a hotel – whose name was not revealed until the day – and attended by only a hundred people. Roberto Fiore, the Italian fascist leader, declined to take part, leaving only Edda Mussolini and French fascist Jack Marchal. At night, the Italian nazi bands *Hobbit* and *Skoll* gave a concert at a campsite just outside the city but anti-fascist groups revealed the "secret" venue hours before, causing the police to break up the event.

GREECE | Jumpstarting the Golden Dawn

FROM PANAYOTE DIMITRAS FOR GREEK HELSINKI

On 3 June 2016, the first hearing in the nazi Golden Dawn (GD) trial since 11 January 2016 was held, five months having been lost because of a prolonged lawyers' strike and refusal of the Bar Associations to grant exemptions from the strike to members involved in the GD trial. Eventually, it took a public outcry for them to change their decisions.

On 30 May, the presiding judge publicly criticised the justice minister – for his failure to move the trial from a prison courtroom to an adequate courtroom – as well as the Athens Appeals' Court presiding judge for having scheduled only five hearings in June as opposed to the ten monthly hearings previously scheduled. On 2 June, the mother of murdered rapper Pavlos Fyssas publicly



SWEDEN | Far-right vigilante gangs in Swedish cities

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

FAR RIGHT vigilante groups named The Soldiers of Odin have been formed across Sweden. The original group was formed in Finland by the nazi Mika Ranta and the Swedish groups are under Finnish command.

The groups deny they are far right but a close look at their members and the rhetoric used in their closed Facebook groups speaks for itself. It is stated in their rules that they should have a high number of members on the streets to make "the refugees scared".

Their Swedish spokesperson is a former member of the defunct fascist Nationaldemokraterna and, in Stockholm, two members "patrolling"

the streets have already been convicted for a nazi attack in 2013 on an anti-racist demonstration in Kärntorp, a Stockholm suburb. Besides the obvious connection to the far right many activists have been convicted for crimes like beating women and carrying weapons.

Eight of the fifteen identified activists of Soldiers of Odin in the Stockholm have convictions and five of these have expressed sympathy for fascist and nazi groups. Research carried out on groups in other cities reveals a similar picture. There are approximately 15 local Soldiers of Odin groups – not all active – on Facebook.

Gregor Schallert



AUSTRIA | Nazi shooter kills 3 people at rock concert

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

THE EIGHT-TIMES convicted nazi, Gregor Schallert, 27, killed 3 people and left another 11 people injured in a murder-suicide shooting at a rock concert in the village of Nenzing, Vorarlberg (near the Austria- Lichtenstein border) on 22 May.

Despite a still valid weapons prohibition against Schallert, he was able to obtain a "shortened Kalashnikov" (Zavasta M92) and start shooting at random into the ca. 150-strong crowd at the open-air concert around 3am.

Information published by the authorities spoke of a "relationship drama" at the event organised annually by a local motorcycle club, "The Lords". Members of the club say they tried to stop Schallert after he had emptied the 30-rounds magazine of his assault carbine but he reloaded and then killed himself with a shot into his mouth.

Schallert was a long-time nazi activist who made his first appearance in 2005, when he together, with nazi thugs – armed with baseball bats, pepper spray and gas pistols – from the Vorarlberg branch of Blood & Honour, was arrested and convicted for a violent attack on a punk concert.

HUNGARY | Jobbik's new "mainstream" ploy

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

ABOUT A YEAR AGO Gábor Vona, leader of the far right Jobbik party, declared the time had come to prepare for the 2018 general election. In Vona's view, Jobbik has reached the threshold of a new era and has turned into a nationally relevant "people's party". "We are not only preparing for victory but for governing the country, too," he stated.

At the end May, Vona, the only candidate for Jobbik's presidency was re-elected on a vote of 80.5% percent at his party's conference. At the same time, three new members of the board (vice-presidents) were elected: Dr. Erik Fülöp, Dávid Janiczák and the nazi László Toroczka, mayors of Ózd, Tiszavasvári and Ásotthalom,

respectively. "Jobbik's priority is to give back hope to the Hungarian society which is soundlessly crying for change", Vona told the gathering. "Jobbik is supported by 53% of Hungarian youth," he added.

Vona vetoed the reelection of three previous vice-presidents – Előd Novák, István Szávay and István Apáti – because they are now too "radical" for Jobbik's aim to show itself capable of ruling the country. Unofficially, however, rumours are spreading within the party about a showdown with its "radical wing". A growing number of Jobbik politicians criticise Vona's much vaunted "mainstream party" ambitions.

trial

NIKI MONITOR IN ATHENS

protested at the trial delays. The next day, the prime minister asked the justice minister to meet her and the Speaker of the House to inform her that the trial would be moved to the Athens Appeals' Court Auditorium on 21 June and held daily. A week later, the court ordered the 18 defendants charged with involvement in the Fyssas murder to attend the court. Until then, the trial was held with only one or two of the 69 defendants present.

With these extraordinary efforts, the Fyssas family and the presiding judge succeeded in jumpstarting the trial but in the courtroom there is no air conditioning, no seats for journalists near the bench and no internet connection as well as problematic use of the microphones.

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■ Ten years of Wilders' Freedom Party? p56



USA | Islamophobes still on the rampage

FROM THE CENTRE FOR NEW COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

ANTI-MUSLIM activists are still actively attempting to train and influence US law enforcement. Some are succeeding. In April 2016, Ryan Mauro of the shadowy anti-Muslim Clarion Project was given a seven-hour platform at a law enforcement conference in New York state. Despite Mauro's history of promoting anti-Muslim conspiracy theories, the New York Tactical Officers Association stood by their decision to host him, saying the Clarion Project representative "has good information to share."

On June 3, disgraced former FBI agent John Guandolo hosted an all-day training session for law enforcement agents and lay people in Dallas, Texas. Guandolo, like Mauro, is known for promoting false and scaremongering material about Muslims. He also once claimed freedom of religion does not apply to followers of Islam.

The original venue for the event, a Texas college, cancelled it after civil rights groups complained. A church agreed to play host, but a clearly frustrated Guandolo later derided his critics in a blog post as "Suit wearing jihadis" who "are no less dangerous than ISIS soldiers on the battlefield."

CROATIA | Petition for Hasanbegović to quit

FROM MARTIN BARIĆ IN ZAGREB

The French newspaper *Libération* has published an open letter that includes a petition for the dismissal of Croatian culture minister, Zlatko Hasanbegović.

The letter was signed by numerous renowned intellectuals including Italian Marxist theoretician Antonio Negri, Bosnian Oscar winner Danis Tanović, Judith Butler, a professor at the University of California in Berkeley, the conservative French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut and Italian Literature Nobel Prize winner Dario Fo. The letter brands Hasanbegović an historical revisionist and supporter of the wartime Ustaše fascist regime. "Zlatko Hasanbegović," it said, "exploits the violence of totalitarian regimes to discredit the struggle against fascism, which he insidiously mixes with the crimes of communism, which is a distortion of the truth."

Meanwhile, the Croatian newspaper *Novosti* has published a photo-gallery of young Hasanbegović at a 1999 protest at Square of Victims of Fascism, which was, at that time called the Square of Croatian Greats, although it was very clear that its original dedication (to the victims of Fascism) was given because an Ustaše prison and execution site were located in buildings forming the square. Hasanbegović, 26 years old at the time, participated at a counter-protest that became violent and a symbol of the revisionist politics of the 1990s that steadfastly refused to acknowledge wartime fascist atrocities.

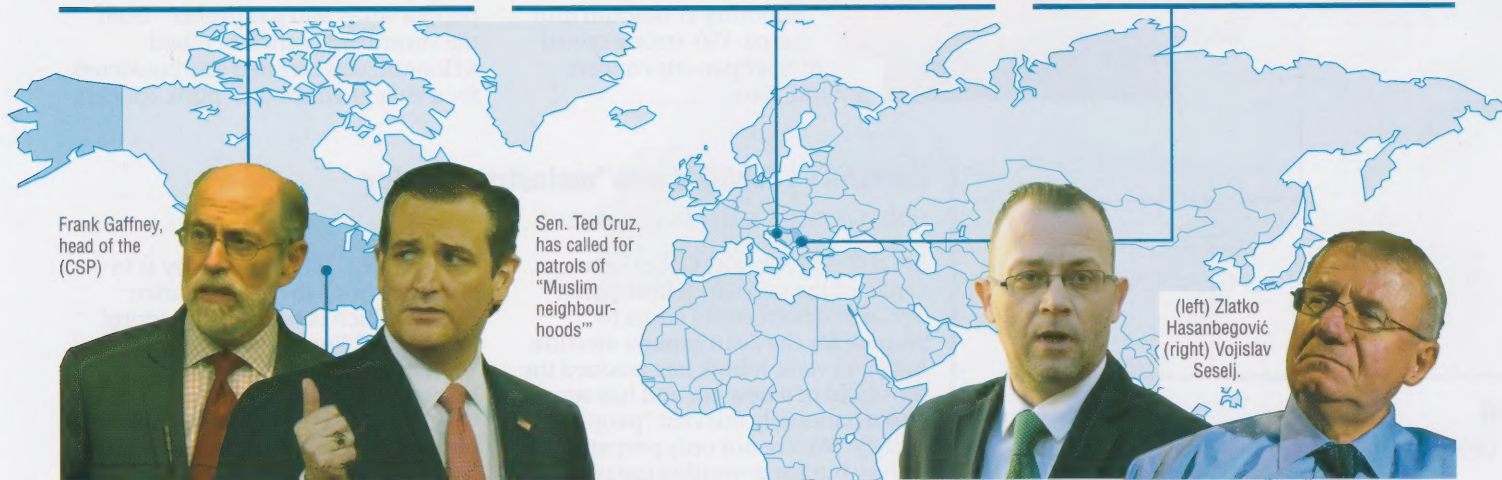
SERBIA | Hague verdict boost for Serbian far right

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ IN NOVI SAD

THE INTERNATIONAL Tribunal For War Crimes Committed In Ex-Yugoslavia has reached a highly questionable verdict in the case of Vojislav Seselj. Seselj was found not guilty on all accounts and released, leaving him free to run in the elections on 24 April as the frontrunner of his Serbian Radical Party which subsequently won 8.6% and 22 seats in the Serbian parliament.

On the night of the "celebration" of Seselj's liberation from The Hague, nationalist and nazi groups went on the rampage, attacking political opponents and their property. Leftist and liberal clubs and bookshops were ransacked and many people left injured in fascist violence in Belgrade. Opposition to the former nationalist Radical-turned EU enthusiast prime minister, Aleksandar Vucic, in this election coming from the far right (his own former SRS party and DSS/Dveri coalition), had been given a very strong chance in the polls.

It has been estimated that the media circus around Seselj and his acquittal in Hague effectively doubled his chances in the 24 April ballot. Democratic opposition, still in disarray, produced its all-time lowest score.



USA | Anti-Muslim activists appointed by Cruz and Trump

BY STEPHEN PIGGOTT, SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTRE, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL frontrunners Donald Trump and Ted Cruz have announced appointments for their National Security Advisory Committee and National Security Coalition respectively. Eight of the appointed advisors are extremely active in the established anti-Muslim movement in the United States.

Cruz came under major fire for appointing Frank Gaffney, head of the anti-Muslim hate group Center for Security Policy (CSP), to his team. Gaffney is one of

the most outspoken anti-Muslim activists in America, propagating conspiracy theories about the Muslim Brotherhood infiltrating the White House and producing reports calling for a ban on all Muslim immigration to the U.S. Over the past few years, Cruz and Gaffney have worked closely together, with Cruz frequently speaking at CSP-organized events. Two of Gaffney's staffers, Clare Lopez and Fred Fleitz, were also appointed to Cruz's team.

Trump, who cited a bogus CSP poll in December, when he called for a "total

and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States," recently appointed senior CSP-er Joseph E. Schmitz to his team, along with Walid Phares, "a high ranking political official in a sectarian religious militia responsible for massacres" during Lebanon's civil war, according to *Mother Jones*.

With Cruz recently calling for patrols Muslim neighbourhoods in the United States and Trump stating, "I think Islam hates us," it appears the appointees' views are rubbing off on the candidates.

Guest column...

Let them remain

By Elisabeth Pop

THE 10 DAYS following the Brexit vote were the saddest I've experienced in the 10 years I've called Britain home.

The bad, the ugly and the hateful seem to believe they have been given a license to abuse European residents and ethnic minorities alike.

The xenophobia peddled by ex-UKIP leader Nigel Farage and endorsed by key figures in the Leave campaign sowed the seeds of the 57 per cent rise in reported hate crime – in the aftermath of the EU vote – announced by the National Police Chiefs' Council.

But the signs were already there. In the run up to the EU Referendum voter registration deadline, I was trying to engage as many people as possible to register and have a voice in the biggest vote in a generation. In the process, I was twice the victim of abuse. First, at the hands of a job-seeking Londoner who told me: "I hope you are not Romanian! Everything you touch turns perfect... We are told all the time how hard working you are, while we, real Brits, are good for nothing, smoking fags and lazing around on the dole!"

The second was by a minority ethnic who pointed the finger in my face and said I was the problem for his children not being able to get a decent pay or be able to buy a house of their own. "I've been living here for 35 years! Who do you think has contributed and deserves more, you or I? We are full!"

Ironically, he would not see that we were being divided and, thus, ruled by the very same people who have failed to fund the NHS, build affordable houses, invest in education, train and create jobs in manufacturing. Or that hate does not know race, creed, colour or generation – Eastern Europeans might be hated today, but any minority could



be hated tomorrow! Surely, we should unite, instead of turning on each other?

These angry voices must have their legitimate concerns addressed but the authorities and police must also apply the full force of the law against perpetrators of despicable racist and xenophobic attacks.

And then there is the issue of our British values – tolerance, inclusivity, justice – and the type of country we want to be after Brexit and the question of the three million EU nationals who are living in uncertainty and have had their lives put on hold.

These are people who have already invested their hopes, dreams, taxes and skills to make Britain great. We cannot allow them to become hostages in any future negotiation with the European Union.

While they did not have a voice in the referendum, clearly the vote was partly about them and their mere presence and welcome in a

country they, too, call home.

As the anti-racist campaign chosen by Jo Cox's family to build on her legacy, HOPE not hate has already started work on bringing communities together.

Proving that we have more in common than that which divides us starts by celebrating the fact that migration is part and parcel of the cultural and social fabric of our Britain.

Now the future leadership of the Conservative Party and any potential prime minister have to reassure EU residents about their status in the UK and their future.

The British people have spoken. New research from ICM for British Future finds that 84% of the British public supports letting EU migrants remain, including three-quarters (77%) of Leave voters.

It is up to those who seek to

The xenophobia peddled by ex-UKIP leader Nigel Farage and endorsed by key figures in the Leave campaign sowed the seeds of the 57 per cent rise in reported hate crime – in the aftermath of the EU vote

lead us to alleviate the anxieties of EU residents who do not know if they should invest in buying a house or starting a family, who have children born here but have no certainty of keeping their jobs, who have started businesses and have created opportunities in their communities but now feel scared and are considering taking their skills – as doctors, engineers, IT specialists, etc. – to other countries where they will feel welcome.

It rests on the next leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to unite British citizens and residents, to offer hope instead of holding hostages and, unequivocally, say NO to fear and hate, YES to a united Britain and a clear and undeniable YES to #LetThemRemain!

■ HOPE not hate organiser Elisabeth Pop can be followed on Twitter at @ElisabethPop13 and contacted via elisabeth@hopenothate.org.uk

Why Britain Backed

Professor Matthew Goodwin on Britain's left-behinds, who have demonstrated their willingness to punch the political elite in the face.



Brexit

Brexit has delivered a political earthquake, the tremors of which will be felt for generations. Contrary to many of the academic polls, forecasts, betting and other prediction markets, Britain has voted to end its membership of the European Union. While some of us saw the result coming, many did not.

In the days that followed Britain's currency slumped to a 31-year-low, Prime Minister David Cameron resigned, a constitutional crisis in Scotland was revived, a new one in Ireland was born and Labour descended into a full-blown crisis.

As one journalist quipped the day after the referendum: "It has been a rather strange day. The prime minister has resigned and it's only our third most important story."

How could Eurosceptics — who had been consistently underestimated — defeat the Remain camp by nearly 4 percentage points or 1.3 million votes?

It is a question that will be debated for years to come and is especially intriguing once we focus on the result in England, which was not even close.

Prior to the referendum, I had wondered openly about the neglected power of Englishness. And in the end this quiet force that has bubbled below the surface of our politics helped to push Brexit over the line. In England, the Leave camp stomped home, winning the referendum by nearly 7 points.

It would be a mistake to view the result as exclusively a judgment on Britain's relationship with the EU or a verdict on the preceding referendum campaign.

Triumphant campaigners in the Leave camp will inevitably acquire legendary status among their followers. But the reality is that they were pushed on by something that is far more powerful than any political campaign: currents that have been deeply embedded into the fabric of British society for decades, that are visible only among specific

groups of voters and which in the early hours of June 24 were given full expression in the results that flickered on our television screens.

Britain's vote for Brexit is anchored in deep divisions that have been visible and growing for decades. The Remain campaign's miscalculation was that it failed to grasp them. The Leave campaign's strength was that it deployed a message that spoke convincingly and clearly to them.

The town that gave the strongest support for Brexit was the small, East Midlands port of Boston where 76% of the local electorate voted to leave the EU.

Boston, which also delivered the highest support for Nigel Farage's self-anointed People's Army at the 2014 European Parliament elections, throws some immediate light onto the Brexit heartlands.

The town, which has experienced significant migration from Central and East European states, is also noticeable for its stubbornly persistent economic deprivation. Median income in Boston is less than £17,000 and one in three people have no formal qualifications at all. Filled with disadvantaged, working-class Britons who do not feel as though they have been winning from European

integration, immigration, and the global market, Boston turned its back firmly on the *status quo*.

Life in that East Midlands town contrasts sharply with that in the area of Britain that returned the strongest vote for Remain, the London borough of Lambeth. Here, where 79 percent voted to remain in the EU, life is remarkably different.

Compared with Boston, there are more than twice as many professionals, nearly twice as many 18-30-year-olds and fewer than half as many working-class voters, pensioners and people with no qualifications. The average voter in Lambeth earns nearly £10,000 more each year than the average voter in Boston.

Between these two extremes lie dozens of heartlands for the Leave and Remain camps that paint a picture of a country that has become sharply divided along three dimensions: social class, generation, and geography.

On average, across the 20 authorities where support for Remain was strongest, 45 percent of voters have a university degree, 42 percent are professionals, and 26 percent describe themselves as "non-white". Only 11 percent are pensioners and median income is £27,000.



Photo: flickr.com/photos/25559122@N06/

But across the 20 authorities where support for leaving the EU was strongest, only 16 percent of voters have a degree, only 23 percent are professional, fewer than 5 percent are non-white, nearly 20 percent are pensioners and median income is £18,000.

The Remain camp would have been best placed by making a positive case for Britain's EU membership. Instead, Cameron and co. spent almost of their time focusing on the negatives of Brexit, robotically pointing to its economic implications.

This was the third fear-based campaign that the British electorate has been exposed to in as many years, after the Scottish independence referendum and the 2015 general election.

Perhaps many voters had become immune to such tactics. But the problem for Remain was also that the economically disaffected voters tempted by Brexit were already resigned to believing that their future would be worse than the past. And they were clear about who was to blame.

Consistent with past research on the roots of support for Euroscepticism, Brexit drew most of its strength from voters who have felt left behind by the rapid economic transformation of Britain or, more accurately, of London and south-east England.

They hold a more socially conservative outlook on Europe, immigration, and national identity that in recent years have become just as important as old disputes between labour and capital.

Such voters have felt increasingly cut adrift from established parties that have spent much of the past two decades pitching to the middle-classes.

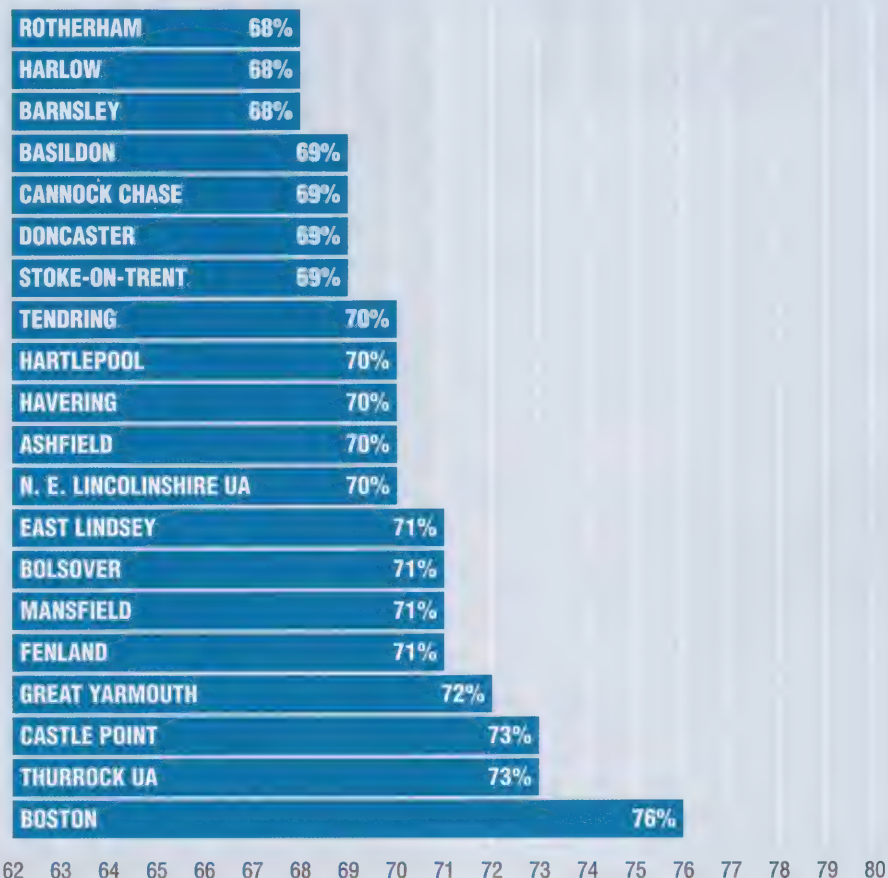
Tony Blair and David Cameron both gambled, in their own ways, that – as they battled to attract the middle-classes – their more working-class voters would stay loyal.

As one New Labour campaigner said a few years ago: "Where else do they have to go?" But then along came Europe and immigration that cut directly across the old left-right divisions. And, crucially, these were issues that were organised far more around a divide between social liberals and authoritarians.

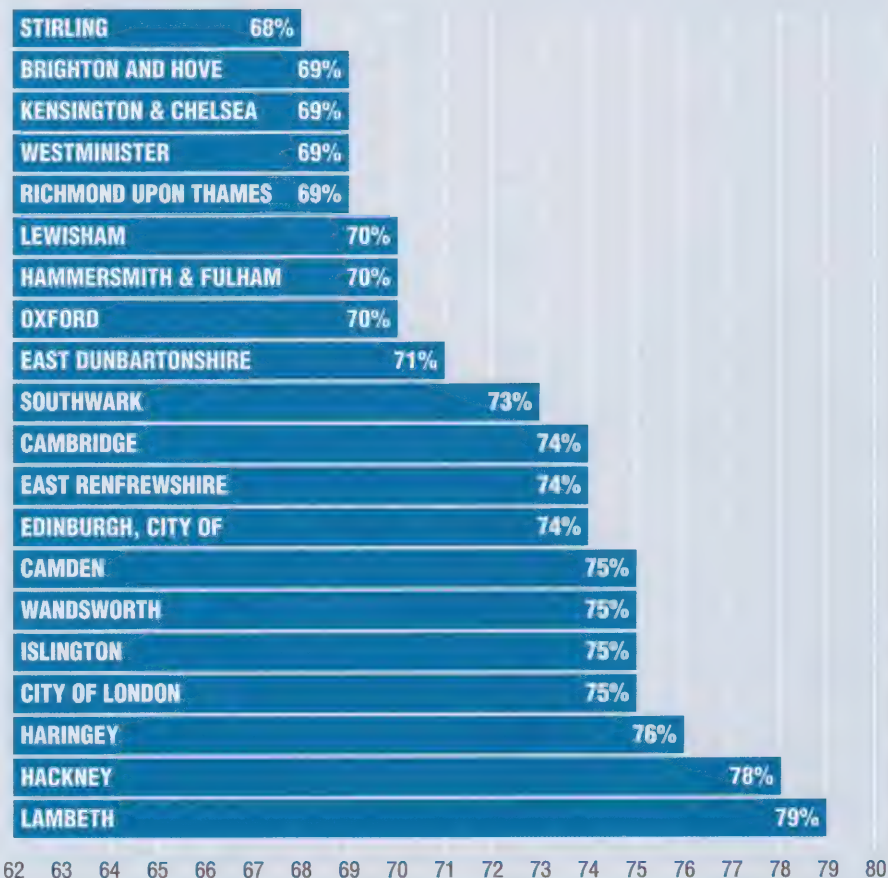
The referendum presented blue-collar workers on the left and older social conservatives on the right with a unique opportunity to rebel against the socially liberal and middle-class elites who in recent years have promoted values that these voters abhor.

On 23 June – and without being constrained by the first-past-the-post system – these voters seized their opportunity.

% Vote for Brexit



% Vote for Remain



By voting for Brexit, a more disadvantaged and left behind electorate imposed a different set of values on the landscape than those that unite the London-centric media and political classes.

As my colleague Robert Ford noted after the result: "Feeling upset by wrenching social change that has been imposed on you by people whose values you don't share or understand? Now you know how UKIP voters have felt."

Brexit owed less to the personal charisma of Boris Johnson, the failings of David Cameron, or the ambivalence of Jeremy Corbyn than to a much deeper sense of angst, alienation and resentment among more financially disadvantaged, less well-educated and older UK citizens who are often only one financial crisis away from disaster.

They are the voters of old industrial strongholds, like the northern towns of Barnsley, Mansfield, Stoke and Doncaster, Welsh towns like Merthyr Tydfil that once fuelled the industrial revolution, fading coastal towns like Blackpool, Great Yarmouth and Castle Point, and blue-collar but aspirational places like Basildon, Havering and Thurrock. And it is striking how this rebellion has posed big questions for both parties.

As another of my academic colleagues has noted, while Brexit was a majority in 75% of Conservative-held seats, it was also the majority view in 70% of Labour-held seats.

It is certainly true that Brexit also found support in leafier, affluent Conservative areas like Aylesbury, Chichester, South Bucks and West Dorset where previously loyal Tories rejected Cameron's increasingly desperate pleas to remain.

As the LSE academic Tony Travers pointed out after the result, by voting against their leader these Conservatives have confirmed Cameron's status as the third prime minister in post-war Britain who will principally be remembered for just one thing: after Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis, and Tony Blair and Iraq, future generations of students will write about Cameron as the man who took Britain out of the EU and who also, given the high probability of a second independence referendum in Scotland, possibly also caused the break-up of the United Kingdom.

It is entirely possible that David Cameron will be remembered as one of the most unsuccessful leaders in our modern political history. That's the thing with gamblers – when they lose, they lose big.

It remains the case, however, that support for Brexit was unquestionably

% Remain Vote



strongest in more economically marginal Britain. This is why Nigel Farage and UKIP are an unpopular but important part of the story of how Brexit came to life, having cultivated the underlying political discontent throughout the early years of the 21st century.

Brexit was built on foundations laid by UKIP. Two years ago, at the European Parliament elections, Farage and his party had already averaged 39 percent of the vote across the 50 areas that went on to give the strongest support to Brexit at the referendum but averaged only 13 percent in areas that gave the strongest support to Remain.

The relationship can also be seen in my colleague Jon Mellon's chart below which plots the Remain vote alongside UKIP's vote at the 2015 general election. Farage never made it into the House of Commons but his decision to fuse Europe with immigration in the public mindset allowed Eurosceptics to achieve something far greater – to transform Euroscepticism from a fringe interest into a mainstream concern that would eventually deliver their lifelong ambition of a Britain that stands firmly apart from the European Union.

Remainers have unsurprisingly criticised the result and demanded a re-run but such an outcome will not be forthcoming.

It is worth noting that of the 50 areas that recorded the lowest turnout no fewer than half of them were in London or Scotland, two areas that were supposed to be hotbeds of Remain fervour.

In the end, the Remain camp simply failed to enthuse those they needed to enthuse. Prior to the result, the Remainers had talked enthusiastically about targeting the large, young, diverse cities but when the dust cleared it was Manchester, Nottingham, Dundee, Birmingham and Liverpool where voters had turned out in lower numbers. This owed less to problems with getting out the vote than to a broader campaign message that never felt compelling or particularly convincing.

Most academics, including myself, would reject the claim that higher turnout in these areas would have altered the final result but it is worth noting that areas where objections are loudest are often those where the turnout was lowest.

For instance, while the London districts of Hackney and Camden are among the top five areas in terms of the number of people wanting a second referendum, these same areas were also among the bottom 10 percent for turnout, a fact Remainers might like to reflect on.

Now, we run headlong into a Conservative Party leadership election, the outcome of which will determine the finer details of Britain's new relationship with Europe, should the new Conservative leader fail to respond quickly and clearly on the core motive for Brexit voters – immigration – then it would be the equivalent of pouring petrol all over the UKIP fire.

Britain's left-behind have already demonstrated their willingness to punch the political elite in the face. I wouldn't test them again.

How Brexit changed us

Britain is now a more polarised, divided and anxious country and the divisions are likely to grow over the next few years.

Nick Lowles reflects on how Brexit has changed the political situation.

THE DECISION to leave the European Union has fundamentally changed Britain. We have a new Prime Minister, there are leadership elections in both the Labour Party and UKIP and we could be about to see a new and very well funded nationalist party.

Economically, the pound has slumped, confidence has evaporated and house prices, in London at least, stagnated. And socially, we have seen a huge spike in racist attacks and uncertainty about amongst the three million EU nationals living in this country.

Britain is in a nervous state and it has every right to be.

To understand how the Referendum campaign and the decision to leave the EU have changed opinions, HOPE not hate commissioned another Fear and HOPE report.

In the week after the Referendum, the polling organisation Populus asked 4,035 people in England a total of 84 questions about their attitudes to race, identity, multiculturalism and their thoughts on the EU Referendum itself.

With many of the questions the same as we asked in February's Fear & HOPE 2016 report, we were able to see if and how the views of the English had changed as a result of the Referendum and its outcome.

The polling found England has become a more polarised society as a result of the Referendum. 63% of respondents believe Britain is more divided as a result of the vote and there has been an increase in the numbers of people who believe there are tensions between different

communities at a local and national level. Just 12% of people disagreed.

When asked about community tensions, 62% of people agreed with the statement that there was rising tension between ethnic groups, whilst 38% of people thought groups got on well together.

The divided nation is also reflected in diverging views on the Referendum campaign itself. People who voted to Remain in the EU overwhelmingly believed the Leave campaign ran a racist and anti-immigrant campaign. Leave voters, unsurprisingly, had quite the opposite view.

Leave voters, though, believed strongly that the Remain campaign exaggerated the negative economic consequences of leaving the EU, whilst Remain voters were more evenly split.

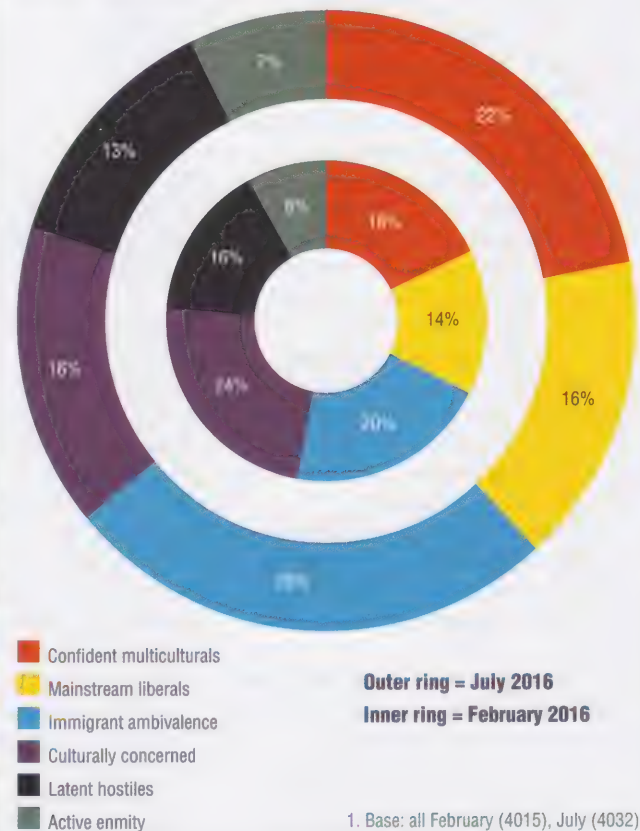
Despite these obvious and widening divisions in English society, the public as a whole appears to have adopted more positive views to immigration and a multicultural society.

A feature of our two previous Fear and HOPE reports has been the dividing of society into six identifiable tribes.

Two of these are very positive about immigration and our multicultural society, two strongly opposed. The two groups in the middle reflect a working class anxiety over immigration due to economic pressures and a more affluent, older and more Conservative-leaning group that express cultural anxieties.

Our 2016 Fear and HOPE reports a significant shift in opinion towards the

English population by segment



two tribes that are more positive to immigration and multiculturalism – up from 24% in 2011 to 32% in February 2016. Professor Rob Ford and I attribute this to a growing confidence in the economy easing some of the economic anxieties and rapidly changing demographics and attitudes among young people.

The new poll seems to suggest a continuation of the movement, with now the two most liberal tribes making up 38% of society. At the same time, the two most hostile groups have shrunk from 24% to 21%.

The Culturally Concerned group has shrunk from 24%

to 16%, while the Identity Ambivalents (who have the economic concerns over immigration) has grown from 20% to 26%.

A few things seem to have happened. The Referendum result has pleased those who voted for the UK to leave the EU and, as a result, they are arguably less angry than they were a few months ago and certainly less angry than they would have been if the vote had been to remain in the EU.

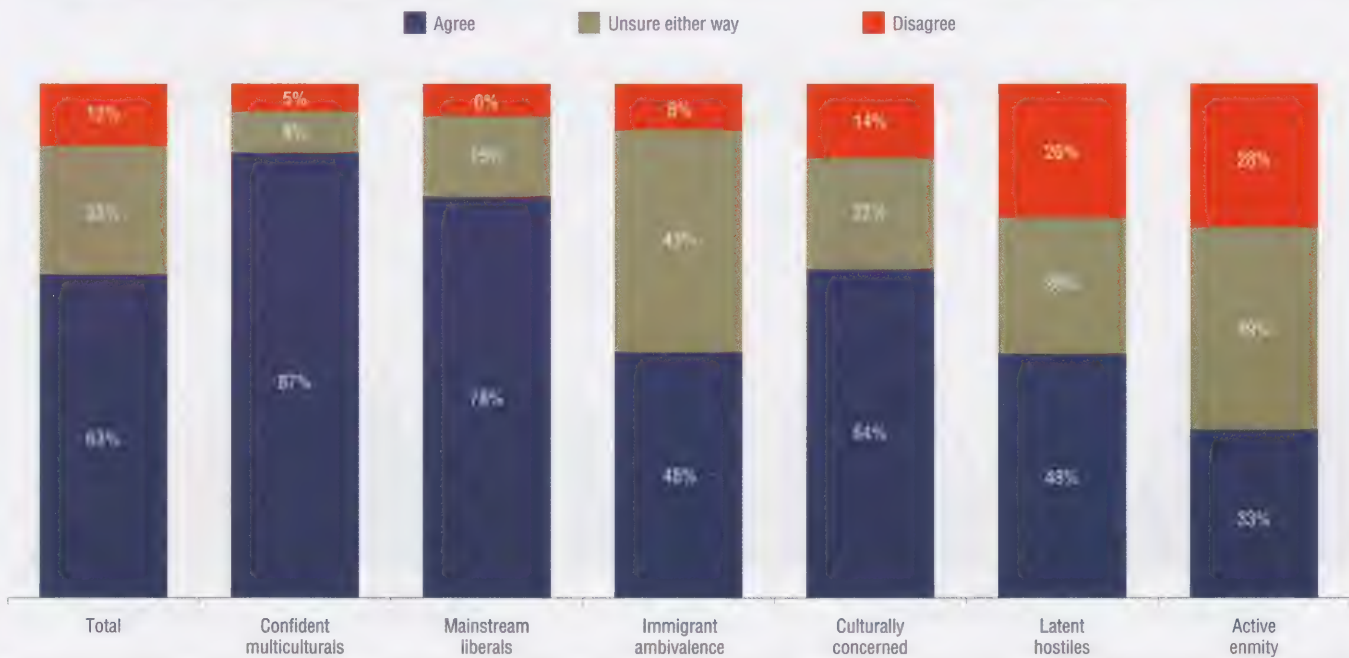
Paradoxically, the two most liberal tribes are overwhelmingly furious with the tone of the Referendum campaign and the result.

These factors have reinforced and hardened their

Is Britain more divided as a result of the referendum?

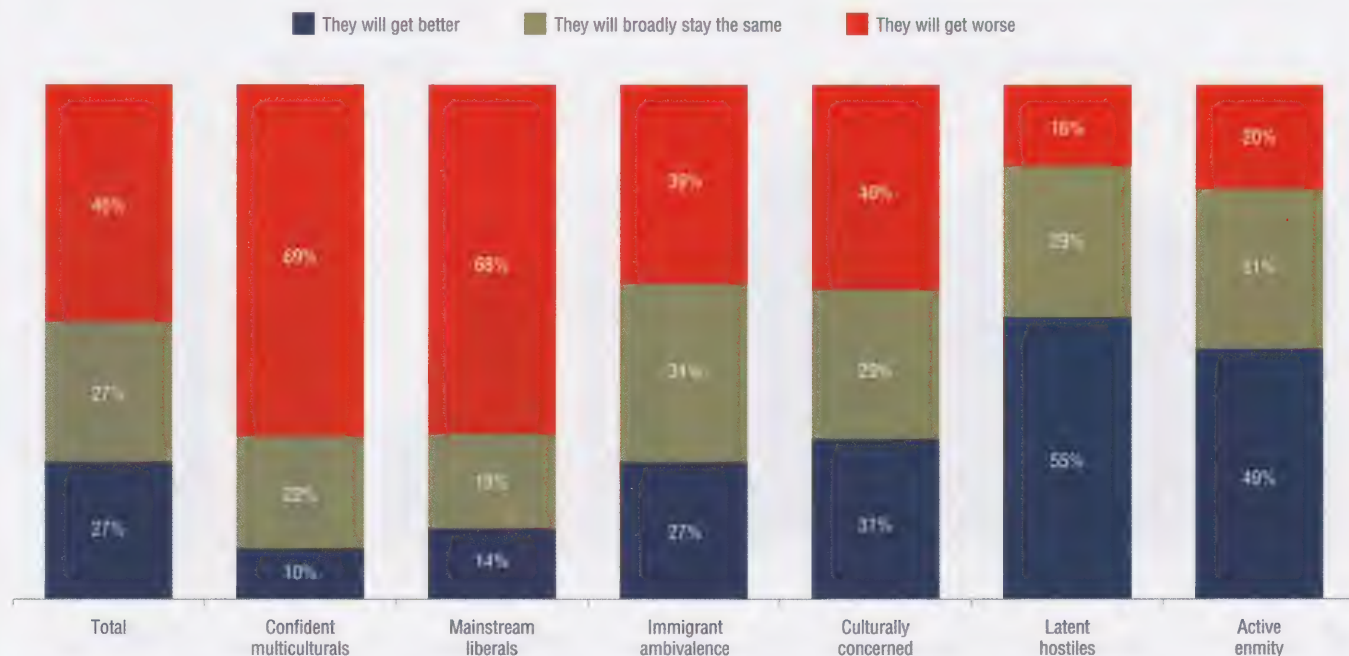
% agreeing (4 or 5) or disagreeing (1 or 2) on a 1-5 scale where 1 is completely agree and 5 is completely disagree

1. EU REF Q8. Thinking back on the Referendum result, how far do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Britain is more divided as a result of the EU referendum. Base: All (4032)

**Expectation of national economic circumstances**

% saying they expect things to get better, stay the same, or get worse

1. EU REF Q4. Now that the UK has voted to leave the European Union, what do you think is likely to happen to the economic circumstances of the country as a whole over the next few years? Base: All (4032)



own support for immigration and multiculturalism and this is reflected in even stronger views on these issues in our poll.

Horrified at the result and the increase in racist incidents, the liberal 48% are now the angry outsiders.

However, there is perhaps a third explanation for the shift and that is the death of Jo Cox. Her murder, a

week before the Referendum vote shocked the country and a sudden reluctance to air strong anti-immigrant views appears to be partly responsible for the sudden reversal in the opinion polls, many of which showed strong Leave leads becoming significant Remain leads in the final few days.

Perhaps, our pollsters have argued, it suddenly became

socially unacceptable for some in the Culturally Concerned grouping to publicly articulate views that might have motivated Jo Cox's killer.

This reasoning might explain why fewer people who voted Leave in the Referendum cited stopping or limiting immigration as their primary reason for voting how they did than when similar questions were

asked by pollsters before Jo Cox's murder.

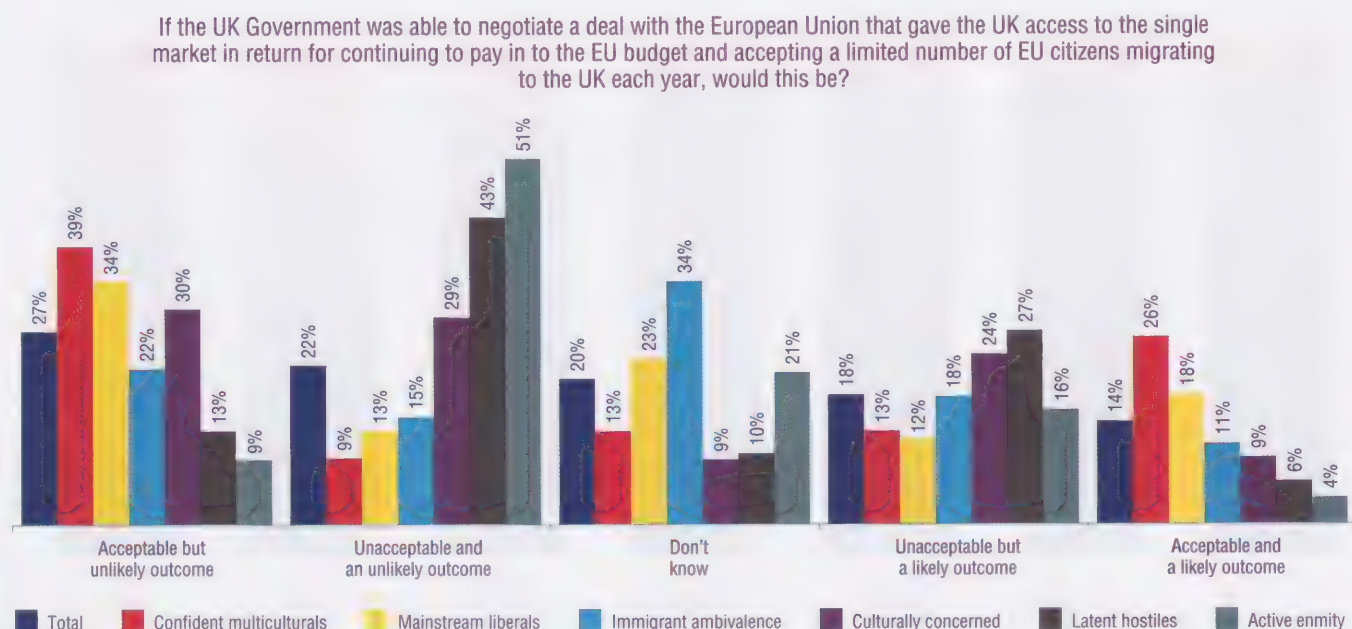
According to our poll, 45% of those voting to leave the EU cited sovereignty over decision-making as their primary reason, with 35% citing controlling immigration.

Amongst the Culturally Concerned tribe, the gap was even bigger, with 51% choosing sovereignty over

Acceptability and likelihood of single market settlement

% saying the settlement is acceptable, likely, unacceptable and unlikely

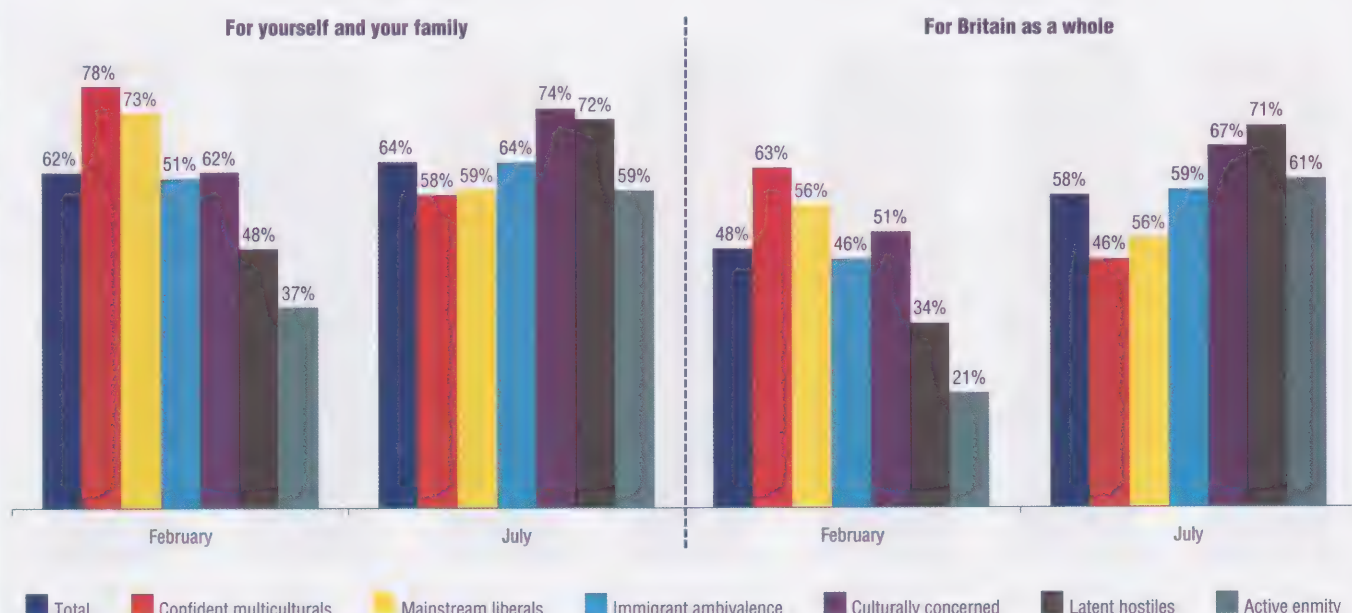
1. EU-REF Q7. If the UK Government was able to negotiate a deal with the European Union that gave the UK access to the single market in return for continuing to pay in to the EU budget and accepting a limited number of EU citizens migrating to the UK each year, would this be? Base: All (4032)



Will it be better in ten years time

% saying life will be better in ten years by segment

1. Q12. And do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse than they are now? Base: February (4015), July (4032)



27% stating immigration.

While it would be totally wrong to suggest that everyone voting to leave the EU did so just because of immigration or are indeed racist, it would seem clear that Jo Cox's death made some people more reluctant to state anti-immigrant views.

The optimistic pessimists

The polarisation in society following the Referendum vote is reflected in attitudes about the future. Those voting for the UK to Remain are pessimistic about the economic wellbeing of the country, while those who voted Leave are suddenly super-optimistic.

The polling shows a startling turnaround in attitudes.

In our February Fear and HOPE survey, 69% of our Latent Hostile tribe and 68% of the Active Enmity tribe felt pessimistic about the future. Now, 55% of Latent Hostiles think the economy will improve in the future (with just 16% believing it will get worse) and 49% of the Active Enmity group thinking the same (with 20% thinking things will get worse).

Conversely, 69% of Confident Multiculturalists and 68% of Mainstream Liberals think the UK economy will worsen over the next few years (with only 10% and 14% thinking it will get better). Back in February, 70% and 67% of these groups were optimistic about the future.

This remarkable optimism amongst the Latent Hostiles and Active Enmity groups is mirrored in their belief that the British government will be more able to control immigration.

81% of Latent Hostiles and 83% of the Active Enmity tribe expect the government to be able to limit immigration, with just 2% and 5% respectively thinking the government will be less able to limit immigration and 17% and 12% believing that leaving the EU will make no difference.

This newfound optimism amongst the two groups most hostile to immigration and

multiculturalism is likely to be short-lived as the reality of life outside the EU begins to bite.

The demographic makeup of these two groups means that they are likely to be adversely affected by job losses – especially in the manufacturing industry – and any reduction in public spending.

And when the penny drops, these people are likely to get very angry and will probably take even more anti-establishment views. Enter Arron Banks, the main financier of UKIP over the last few years, and his promise to put £10 million of his own fortune into a new right wing nationalist party.

It will not be difficult for Banks, a British Donald Trump, to convince them that they have been sold out yet again by the political elite rather than their own unrealistic expectations.

And with the Labour Party in complete disarray, the prospects of Banks' new party eating deeper into Labour's heartlands in the north are both real and frightening.

While Theresa May will undoubtedly experience a honeymoon period and a significant bounce in the polls, this could also well be short-lived.

Negotiations with the EU will not be easy and, despite the bullish headlines of some of the media and politicians, the UK will not be entering them from a position of strength. Britain will clearly not get the deal it wants and there will be significant areas of compromise.

However, our polling shows that there is little appetite for compromise amongst many of those who voted Leave.

A hefty majority of Leave voters believes Britain can thrive successfully outside the EU and the single market, the probable requirement if the government is to halt free movement of labour as it has promised to do.

Similarly, 57% of the Culturally Concerned, 76% of Latent Hostiles and 87% of the Active Enmity group

thought leaving the single market was a price worth paying to stop unlimited EU migration into Britain. Only 17%, 7% and 5% of these three groups thought that the economic consequences of leaving the single market would be so dire that they would support continuing free movement in return for staying inside it.

And there would appear little room for compromise, at the moment at least. Some politicians and business leaders have floated the possibility of a deal whereby the UK retains access to the single market in return for continuing to pay into the EU budget and accepting a limited number of EU citizens migrating to the UK each year.

Quite apart from whether other EU countries will accept this – and the early indications are that they won't – opinion is split. 41% of people said that such a compromise would be acceptable to them, whilst 40% deemed it unacceptable.

A third of people thought such a deal was likely, with 49% believing it unlikely.

However, amongst the three groups to the right of our tribe scale, opinion is strongly against such a compromise. Just over half (53%) of the Culturally Concerned saw it as unacceptable, compared to 39% who believed it as acceptable. Amongst Latent Hostiles this gap was 70% to 19% and amongst Active Enmity it was 67% to 13%.

The negotiations over Britain's withdrawal from the European Union are going to dominate politics for the next four or five years. They

will be unpredictable, difficult and probably economically painful.

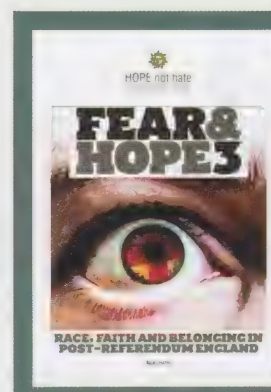
They are also likely to deeply divide opinion, especially among those who are already nervous and sceptical about immigration and multiculturalism. It will be a debate as much about the country we are as it is about the country we want to be.

Into this political turmoil there is a real opportunity for the new right-wing political party that Arron Banks is promising to set up. In the short term, its protectionist and anti-immigrant message will appeal to working class voters, especially those who are expecting their lives to greatly improve now Britain is leaving the EU.

Yet, as negotiations get under way, the tensions within the Conservative Party could turn into open warfare over immigration and trade deals. With the government unlikely to reduce immigration significantly even from outside the EU, Banks will hope to exploit a cultural battle to attract Conservative support.

It should be of some alarm that while general attitudes to immigration have improved, our polling finds that 49% of people would consider supporting a new *English* nationalist party, a rise from when the same question was asked in February.

Britain is a more polarised society as a result of the EU Referendum and this is likely to have severe political consequences as we enter possibly years of economic and political turmoil. ●



Read the full
Fear and
HOPE 3
report at
[hopenothate.
org.uk](http://hopenothate.org.uk)

Time to talk about immigration

Nick Lowles

ONE OF THE consequences of pulling out of the European Union (EU) is that Britain will have to develop a new and comprehensive immigration policy.

In addition to settling the status of EU citizens already here and UK nationals living in other EU countries, Theresa May's new government will need to rewrite many existing rules and develop new arrangements with the EU and the wider world.

In this she will have to balance the needs of the economy, to say nothing of the UK's international refugee obligations, with a population that wants and expects much lower immigration levels.

Our latest Fear and HOPE survey found that 53% of the population expected post-Brexit Britain would be more able to limit immigration. This rose to 68% of the "Culturally Concerned" group and 81% and 83% of the "Latent Hostiles" and "Active Enmity" segments.

Despite promising to end the existing free movement of labour arrangements and cutting immigration, May's government

is going to struggle to bring down substantially the overall numbers of people entering Britain.

Half of newcomers already come to Britain from outside the EU and this currently accounts for 150,000 people. We are also likely to see an increase in asylum seekers and refugees reaching Britain as a consequence of France ending bilateral agreements that put the current British border on French soil.

On top of that, there will be the needs of the economy, both in highly paid City and financial jobs but also seasonal workers in the agricultural sector.

There are currently 50,000 EU nationals working in the NHS. Staff in these and other social care and essential services will need to be found from somewhere.

As the Government balances its stated wish to reduce immigration while meeting the needs of the economy and its international obligations, it is vital that we do not leave it to politicians alone to decide on a new strategy.

Not only is it likely to be far more draconian than we would

perhaps like, it also risks repeating the mistakes of the past.

Immigration and the movement of people are part of the modern "globalised" world and politicians need to accept and articulate this rather than playing to an anxious population and hostile media and pretending that it is a tap it can turn on or off.

It was David Cameron's latest limit of 100,000, pushed hard by Theresa May that contributed to the growing loss of trust in politicians to deal with the issue.

More fundamentally, in developing a new and comprehensive immigration policy, the government has a chance to initiate a national discussion that balances the views and fears of people with needs and obligations. This could also include discussion about multiculturalism, diversity and even the sort of country we want to live in.

In this way the government could address one of the most significant and underlying resentments of people, namely that they have never been consulted over immigration and

the changing nature of society.

Our latest Fear and HOPE report clearly shows that an appetite for such a discussion and a pragmatism on immigration that is often hidden by the hysterical media headlines.

The vast majority of Britons understand and accept the need for immigration. Over 80% believe some form of immigration is "best", with only 19% wanting a temporary or permanent halt.

HOPE not hate is now writing to the new government asking for a Commission on Immigration that can hopefully help develop a fair, realistic and coherent strategy.

In the event that the government does not accept this, then HOPE not hate will seek out partners to run an independent commission.

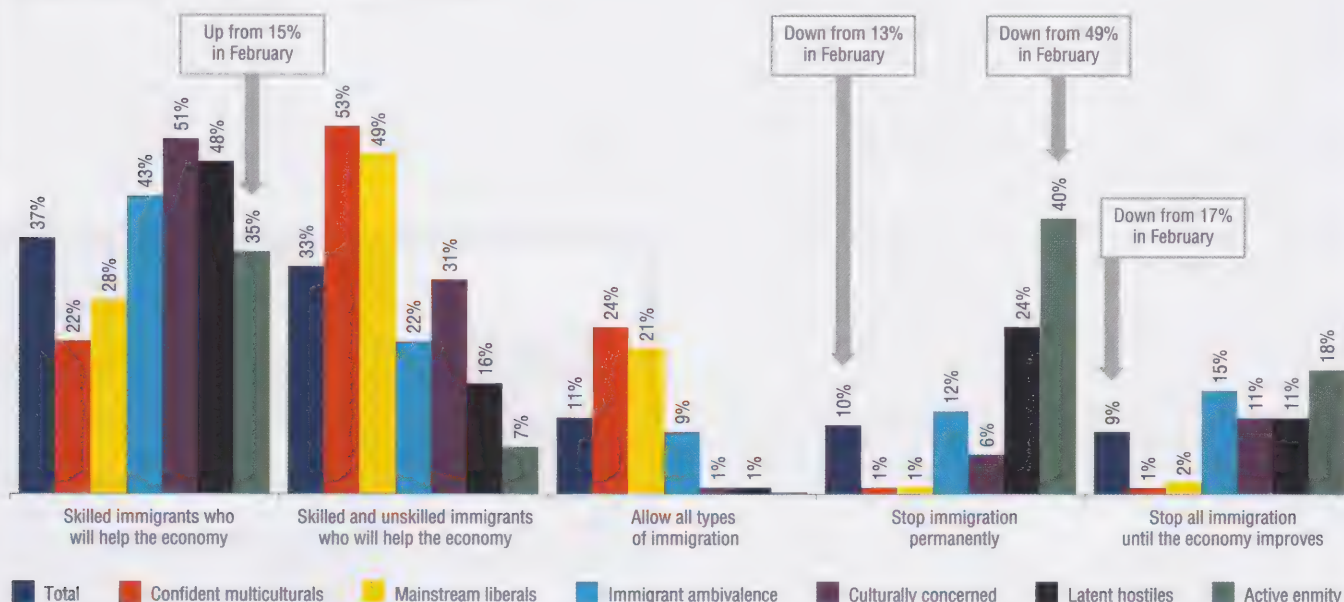
Immigration is a toxic political issue and has clearly undermined public trust in politicians for many years.

Now that Britain has voted to leave the EU we now have an opportunity for a proper public debate on what a new immigration policy could be.

Best immigration policy for the country

% saying which policy is the best for the country by segment, lighter shades refer to segment attitudes in February

1. Q24. Which of the following policies on immigration do you think is the best for this country? Base: February (4015), July (4032)



#PostRefRacism incidents

Reports to police increased by 42%, to more than 3,000 allegations of hate crime across Britain in the week before and the week after the 23 June vote.

Mark Hamilton, head of the National Police Chiefs' Council, believes the spike in hate crime following the EU referendum is the worst on record. Police suspect just one in four incidents are reported to them. Research by *Elisabeth Pop*



CUMBRIA

LEEDS

BARNLEY

MANCHESTER

COUNTY ARMAGH

County Armagh: Graffiti, including a swastika and 'C18' symbols, was sprayed on two cars and the door of a house

Walsall: A halal butchers gets firebombed by walk-in attacker

Coventry: BBC Radio journalist Trish Adudu called a a "n****r" and told to 'go home' by the same person who told young Asian guy "Get out, haven't you seen the result?"

Birmingham: Group of lads corner a Muslim girl shouting "Get out, we voted leave"

Gloucester: EDL march outside mosque, "This is England, foreigners have 48 hours to f**k right off. Who is foreign here? Anyone foreign?"

Bristol: A dual heritage young mum was spat at as she passed a pub and told to "f*** off back" to her home country.

Cardiff: Young refugee family experience 'Muslims are scum' graffiti on their front door and stabbed knives into their lawn

Basingstoke: Sima Kotecha (BBC Radio 4 Journalist) "In utter shock: just been called p**i in my home town! Haven't heard that word here since the 80s..!"

Salisbury: Polish woman was the victim of a racially-aggravated assault

Plymouth: Polish family have the shed next to their house set on fire in arson attack



Norwich: Romanian food store is targeted in arson attack while the family were sleeping upstairs

Huntington: Polish homes and schools receive 'Leave EU No More Polish Vermin' cards

NORWICH

HUNTINGTON

WALSALL

BIRMINGHAM

COVENTRY

GLOUCESTER

ROMFORD

HAMMERSMITH

HACKNEY

LONDON

CARDIFF

BRISTOL

BASINGSTOKE

SALISBURY

London: Sikh radiographer told by a patient "shouldn't you be on a plane back to Pakistan? we voted you out"

Hackney: In a road rage incident, a man confronts a Muslim driver with "F*cking foreigner, go back to your country"

Hammersmith: 50 years old Polish cultural centre was the target of racist graffiti

PLYMOUTH

The Right to Remain

Polling commissioned by HOPE not hate found that 80% of the public supported the right of EU nationals to remain in the UK, Nick Lowles explains.

OVER 25,000 people have signed a HOPE not hate letter to the Conservative Party leadership candidates urging them to make unequivocal statements supporting the right of EU nationals to remain in the UK after Britain leaves the European Union (EU).

Thousands have also sent letters to their local MPs asking where they stand on this issue.

The petition comes as polling commissioned by HOPE not hate found that 80% of the public supported the right of EU nationals to remain in the UK.

Our poll of 4,035 people found that 84% of Conservative voters backed the right to remain, as did 85% of Labour voters and 95% of Lib Dems. Even a majority of UKIP voters, 56%, supported the move.

While most media focus has been on the rise of racist incidents that followed the 23 June Referendum vote, there was an even bigger anxiety among EU nationals over their future status.

A Polish woman who had been in the UK for eleven years summed up the unease amongst many EU nationals here when she wrote on the HOPE not hate Facebook page that her five-year-old daughter was in tears at the thought of her mum being sent home.

Most political leaders have now come out publicly in support of the Right to Remain, including Nigel Farage who said he was "disgusted at the way (Home Secretary, Theresa) May has been speaking on the issue. The EU nationals living in the UK came here legally."

During the Referendum campaign, both the main Leave campaigns pledged

to guarantee the rights of EU nationals to stay and the leaders of these campaigns have reiterated this after the vote.

The opposition parties have supported this, with Labour tabling an emergency motion in the House of Commons that was accepted almost unanimously after government whips ordered their MPs to abstain.

The top Tory refusing to support the Right to Return is new prime minister Theresa May who has said she cannot commit to such a decision ahead of negotiations with the EU. While that might be politically expedient, it means using the three million EU nationals in the UK, to say nothing of the 1.2m UK citizens living in other EU countries, as bargaining chips and this is totally unacceptable.

HOPE not hate has asked its supporters to contact their MP to see where they stand on this issue. We will lobby those who refuse to support the Right to Remain and highlight their opposition to a public fully supportive of our campaign.

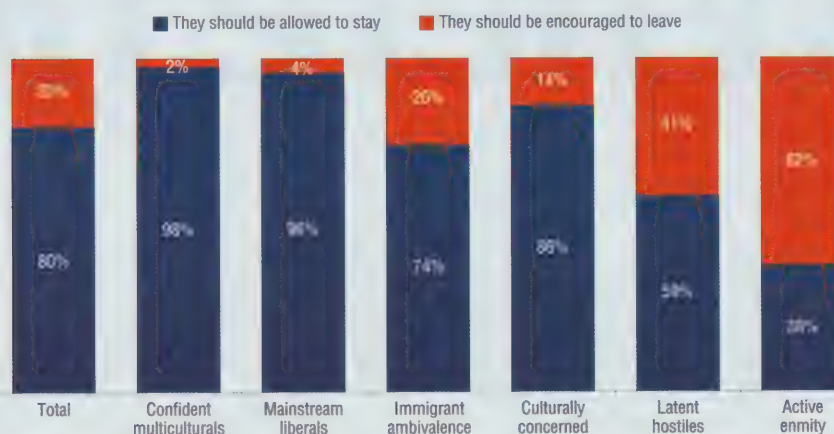
With the prospect of rounding up and deporting millions of people quite ridiculous, Theresa May should waste no more time by making an unequivocal statement that EU nationals here at the time of the EU referendum have the right to stay.



What should happen to EU nationals living in Britain?

% saying they should be allowed to stay and they should be encouraged to leave

1. EU REF Q10. Now Britain is leaving the EU, what should happen to EU nationals already living in Britain? Base: All (4032)

**Our letter to the Conservative Party leadership candidates**

The Prime Minister's post-referendum statement that there would be 'no immediate changes' to their status will have been less than fully reassuring.

This is also a vital concern for many British businesses and public services employing EU nationals, who do not want retrospective disruption to their existing workforce at a time of economic uncertainty.

We would urge you to make a clear and unequivocal statement that EU migrants currently living in the UK are welcome to stay here.

A clear, public commitment to protect the status of EU migrants was made by the official Vote Leave campaign – and it is important that is honoured.

By adopting this policy, the UK puts itself in a strong position to seek a clear reciprocal commitment from other EU members that EU citizens in the UK and UK nationals in other EU countries should be able to continue to live and work in those countries.

We believe there are principled, practical and legal reasons why this would be the only sensible and decent policy now that Britain has voted to Leave the EU. Research from ICM for British Future finds that 84% of the British public supports letting EU migrants stay – including three-quarters (77%) of Leave voters.

It would also send a clear statement to the extreme minority, who now appear to believe they have licence to attack and harass migrants and minorities, that the British public finds their views repugnant and unwelcome in our society.

Where now for

By Ian Warren

IN AN IDEAL WORLD, political parties would grow organically. The same would be true for UKIP. In reality, the machinery of the party has struggled to keep up with the success of its elected representatives. This is entirely normal given the speed at which it has grown.

Only a handful of years ago, it was a marginal force in political life. Today, it has almost 500 local councillors, 7 members of the Welsh Assembly, over 40,000 members and can claim to have played a major part in delivering one of the most significant election victories for decades in the EU referendum.

The speed of its growth has come at the cost of organisation. Membership lists have been poorly maintained, candidate selection has been chaotic at times, the management of the party has often descended into factional battles and funding streams have relied less on membership dues and more on the benevolence of external donors.

Rival political parties have thus been left somewhat bemused at the results it has achieved in local elections and elsewhere given the relative lack of both financial and personnel resources being committed.

The relative mismatch between UKIP's presence and that of a party like Labour has been offset by media exposure for Nigel Farage that he has used to deliver explicit messaging resonating with UKIP's target audience.

UKIP's noisy entry into Labour's "heartlands" has depended on the support of blue collar working households and/or those voters struggling to make ends meet.

These voters are geographically clustered in two ways. Firstly, in the country as a whole, these demographic groups are congregated most strongly in parts of the North East (Hartlepool and Sunderland, for example), Yorkshire and the Humber (Rotherham, Grimsby and Hull, for example), the North West (Blackpool, Wigan and Bolton, for example), the West Midlands (Stoke, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich for example) and South Wales (Blaenau Gwent, Merthyr Tydfil and Aberavon, for example).

Secondly, the geographical concentration of those voters *within* those places is also significant. As social researchers like Danny Dorling and Loic Waquant have demonstrated, our towns and cities have evolved into the backdrop of an ever-greater concentration of struggling households.

Wacquant has termed such places "social prisons", a term that accurately characterises the particular sense of exclusion felt in such communities. It is to precisely this exclusion that UKIP and Nigel Farage speak.

Immigration is seen as a threat in this context. Regardless of the *actual* threat posed by immigration, voters access the *perceived* threat, small levels of immigration in local areas being exaggerated.

UKIP energetically addresses this hypersensitivity. The slogan "Take Back Control" is not an abstract to such voters. They feel it personally as a means by which to fend off such perceived threats.

In the recent EU referendum, the Leave campaign used consultants both to explore and target these voters with messages aiming to bypass such factors



Photo: flickr.com/photos/armyfire2008/

• UKIP?

such as where a voter lives, what they do or how much they earn and move straight to the psychological *influencers* that affect their voting decisions.

In this respect, UKIP is at the forefront of campaign science in the UK and its operation now employs consultants who have built databases of hundreds of thousands of citizens, all of whom are routinely pushed and prodded with test messaging.

UKIP is also developing the data it employs and the techniques it uses. The EU referendum brought the party into close contact with campaigners

from other parties and the importance of the cross-fertilisation of campaign techniques to UKIP's foot soldiers should not be underestimated.

The creation and use of call-sheets and road groups to direct canvassing, for example, will have been something of a novelty for some UKIP activists but he party has employed such techniques in by-elections, notably in Clacton, Rochester and Strood and Thanet South, and it can be expected that such techniques will be rolled out more widely now the party has access to better data.

UKIP also recently purchased powerful

demographic databases that bring it closer to the main parties in terms of the data they use. However, these databases will take time to have an impact. It takes time and expertise to be able to understand the data, analyse it and use it in the field.

Hence, UKIP will need to recruit well to take advantage of such data but its mere purchase provides compelling evidence that the party is not going away any time soon.

Quite the contrary. The latter part of the referendum campaign brought home UKIP's intentions as a palpable shift in the campaign became evident just weeks before the referendum itself.

Whereas previously Farage had championed the Leave.EU and the Grassroots Out campaigns, the UKIP "brand" moved much more into view as the campaign began to wrap up. Farage climbed aboard the UKIP bus and toured Labour's heartlands. It wasn't a Grassroots Out bus that drove around Bolton or Dudley with Nigel on top, it was a UKIP one.

In the North West, Paul Nuttall drove the UKIP bus through Leigh, ex-shadow home secretary Andy Burnham's seat. Burnham will vacate the seat if he becomes mayor of Greater Manchester, forcing a by-election in a seat with heavy concentrations of just those demographic groups UKIP performs well amongst.

It was clear that UKIP would use whatever remained of the platform it occupied in the EU referendum campaign to speak to Labour voters. It was also clear that the party believed it would lose. Privately, UKIP would admit to those feelings...not that it mattered to it too much.

Even a narrow defeat nationally would enable it to go to Labour heartlands and establish a grievance about the result among voters already primed to believe the mainstream political parties were not listening to them.

As it turned out, UKIP was wrong to believe the campaign was lost. Instead of establishing grievances around the result itself, UKIP will now turn grievances against the speed of Brexit and the negotiations that follow.





Photo: Jennifer Jane Mills

It can be expected that it will complain about every perceived or actual concession to the EU during the withdrawal talks.

UKIP will, of course, insist on the absolute control of the UK's borders and will highlight every occasion the Brexit negotiators concede on any aspect of immigration control.

In so doing, it believes it will channel the thoughts of the voters it needs in the Labour heartlands. Similarly, it can be expected to complain loudly if it believes the party is being locked out of negotiations and will rail against the "establishment" because, in so doing, it can tap into the belief of many Labour voters that they, too, have been locked out of society.

For such voters, any diminution of their democratic wishes will be portrayed by UKIP as a further demonstration that Labour does not serve their interests.

These voters believe the Labour Party, and politics more widely, does not act in their interests, that its politicians only care about themselves, that it is not even prepared to listen to them and that it believes *them* to be wrong.

This is why it is immensely damaging for anyone within Labour to call for a second EU referendum. By doing so the party will simply reinforce all of these beliefs. For such voters, the Labour party has already moved from being a defender of their interests to one that does not seem to understand them. How will they react if the party then tells them they are wrong?

More astute work on the ground is needed to counter the UKIP threat. UKIP itself understands better than most the potential for grassroots work.

Voters are moving between political parties more than ever. Traditional political loyalties are fraying. The

mainstream political parties have been too slow to recognise this volatility and too cumbersome to adapt their methods to it.

It remains to be seen whether the mainstream political parties are adept enough to recognise how dramatically their environment has changed.

In the meantime, UKIP, or whatever next emerges, will continue to tap into the sense of disaffection and hopelessness pervading large parts of our towns and cities.

The task now is to work to meet this challenge. The palpable sense of hopelessness felt by people in our communities must be met with hard work and support.

Only by addressing the pre-conditions for the rise of UKIP can we hope to undermine its divisive messages.

**This article was written before Nigel Farage resigned as leader*

UKIP's next leader

THE CONTENDERS LINE UP

STEVEN WOOLFE: Hailing from Moss Side in Manchester, Woolfe is a criminal lawyer and a former Conservative Party councillor. He is UKIP's current migration spokesperson and has been an MEP for North West England since 2014.

A rising star within UKIP and an eloquent media performer, he uses much more moderate language than UKIP deputy leader Paul Nuttall or former leader Nigel Farage on controversial issues. He also has the ability to appeal to former Labour voters, avoiding more extreme populist policies in favour of a milder approach.

Woolfe is, however, still prone to media gaffes, tweeting in 2014 that ISIS should bomb the NHS building blocking his view of Chester cathedral.

On economic policy, Woolfe is to the right within UKIP. He is in favour of privatising the NHS and scrapping inheritance tax. He likes to present himself as a classical libertarian figure despite pledging a crackdown on immigration through adoption of an "Australian points based" immigration system.

SUZANNE EVANS: A former journalist, Evans was UKIP's Deputy Chairman and Head of Policy from August 2014 until February 2016. She was once the chosen heir of Farage and, fleetingly, UKIP leader after Farage stepped down following the 2015 General Election. After UKIP's board rejected his decision to quit just days later, a bitter dispute erupted between Evans and Farage, leading to her suspension from the party.

Evans is prone to media blunders, attracting controversy when she claimed UKIP's lack of support in London was because the capital was more "media-savvy and educated". She also came under fire after blaming housing shortages on immigration whilst owning two houses with a share in a third occupied by her daughter.

Evans is seen as a moderate within UKIP, calling for more "compassionate, centre-ground" policies. She defied Farage and supported the Vote Leave campaign instead of Grassroots Out. Despite her stated intention to stand, there is confusion over whether she is even eligible to become the next leader due to her suspension and being disciplined by the party.

ARRON BANKS: A multimillionaire businessman, Banks has been UKIP's main funder since 2014., becoming familiar to the public after co-founding the *Leave.EU* campaign and donating £5.6m of his personal fortune to the Brexit cause, the single biggest donation in British political history.

Banks made his millions as founder of the GoSkippy and Southern Rock insurance firms and was a significant donor to the Conservatives before switching allegiance to UKIP.

After the Referendum result, he announced plans to start a new political party – billed as the "right-wing Momentum" – from members of UKIP, Labour and the Conservatives. Hinting that this new party would not involve Farage, it has been speculated that Farage's decision to step down may have been in part an attempt to keep Banks – and his vital funding – on board.

Banks is a divisive figure, lacking media finesse and his candidacy for leadership is based solely on his status as a source of cash.

He has been criticised heavily for releasing personal contact details of rival Vote Leave campaign members and has claimed that increased hate crime following the Brexit vote is "media hysteria" and "a whole load of rubbish".

Banks has described himself as a libertarian and has declared his desire to privatise the NHS. He was named in the Panama Papers leaks.



The fascists who want to



By László Balko and Matthew Collins

IN A SMALL DOORWAY in Budapest's city centre, a man is getting overwrought and gesticulating defensively and angrily against prying eyes. He removes his hat to shield his face and starts cursing.

It's not in Magyar, the native tongue of Hungarians, however; it's in English ... in a guttural Glaswegian accent. The man is Jim Dowson, the Belfast-based and paramilitary aligned anti-abortionist who once owned and broke the British National Party (BNP) before forming and then dumping (quite a few times) the radical hybrid Britain First.

This was September 2015 and despite the oppressive heat, Dowson was dressed

like the country squire he so often fancies himself as. This is not a holiday for Dowson, however as he is almost a month into a fact-finding visit to the country and, the night before we innocently bumped into him, he had made a pompous entrance in a plush hotel to present an award to controversial Polish anti-abortionist Bogdan Chazan.

Dowson claimed he was in Hungary on "religious activities" yet he was actually juggling his waning relationship with his Britain First hobby, his own Knights Templar International (KTI) project and a not-unexpected rekindled relationship with his former friend and business partner Nick Griffin,

failed former BNP leader and ousted former MEP.

During his month in Hungary not only had Dowson allegedly acquired some smallholdings formerly the property of the Calvinist church in the north of the country, he also presented an award on behalf of the previously unheard of "New European Family Forum" and was making a last ditch and final attempt to ingratiate the roughnecks of Britain First into polite society.

Returning in October, there was a series of meetings with Hungarian far right and minor church figures at which Dowson and Britain First boss Paul Golding attempted to cement a relationship

to buy and sell Hungary



between Britain First and the Hungarian fascist party, Jobbik.

Whilst Dowson wined and dined with Jobbik MPs in the Hungarian parliament, Golding and his deputy Jayda Fransen returned to Britain with their tails between their legs having signally failed to impress. Britain First had now become an expensive international embarrassment.

From Budapest, Dowson travelled to the small Hungarian village of Ásotthalom on the southern plain of the country. The village and its volatile mayor had become a beacon of hope to the European far right. László Toroczkai, the nazi mayor of the

village which is set in some forty-seven square miles of dusty farmland, had instituted a paramilitary-style border patrol by men on horseback and in 4x4 vehicles to complement the government's own patrols along its infamous 25-mile anti-refugee fence.

Toroczkai was one of a number of nationalist loudmouths who rose to prominence in 2006 when the Hungarian capital descended into near-anarchy after waves of protests greeted a leaked conversation by the country's then socialist prime minister admitting he had lied to the electorate.

Since moving to Ásotthalom and being elected mayor in

2013, he has tried to revitalise a relationship between the Magyar, God and the Soil. Although he rules with an iron fist, the founder and former leader of the nazi 64 Counties Youth Movement (HVIM) has gained a cult following in Hungary.

He has also stoked up hostility between the Hungarian far right and the Serbian far right, previously having led an incursion into Serbia that led to violent clashes between rival gangs.

Dowson was introduced to Toroczkai by Hungarian notoriety Imre Téglásy, a hard line Catholic anti-abortionist and former university lecturer. Not only had Téglásy opened up polite society to his old

Griffin, Fiore and Dowson
at the Reform Church in
Budapest, March 2016



(above) György Budaházy with pony tail at Dowson's Christmas dinner
(below) Dowson and the 'Grand Prior' Imre Téglásy, at the infamous KTI Christmas party



friend Dowson, he now opened doors to the far right too. As a reward for his efforts, Téglásy was made KTI "Grand Prior" for all of Hungary.

From Hungary, Dowson went to Brussels where he took a business plan to Nick Griffin and Roberto Fiore the two most prominent fascists in the EU-funded Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF) of which Fiore is president and Griffin vice-chairman.

The three had bonded again in St Petersburg six months earlier during a far right conference held in honour of Vladimir Putin's continued defiance of the West.

The ever-bankrupt Griffin was still living hand to mouth, travelling the world on handouts from far-right sympathisers and the Syrian regime. His home on the Welsh borders was for sale and he appeared far from keen to return there.

Dowson sold Griffin and Fiore on the idea of working together in Hungary – a perfect foil to the European Union.

The eastern and central regions of Europe, Dowson was convinced, would be very susceptible to radicalisation of its institutions, in particular the three main churches in Hungary where he had found a willing audience.

Further to that, both Fiore and Griffin had longstanding relations with the Hungarian opposition party Jobbik although it had not joined their European alliance.

The three agreed that the four 'Visegrad' countries of Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia were a perfect focus for saving white and Christian Europe and maintaining and building on their purported links to the Russians.

Griffin and Fiore had already laid the groundwork in Poland where both were preparing for a major conference in Wroclaw in November at which the APF was going to push their recently developed horror stories on bogus European demographics.

Griffin, getting ready to

decamp, had already loudly aired his prognosis that the United Kingdom was little more than a failed state and little remained there for the indigenous people.

Dowson had begun developing KTI away from Golding and Britain First in mid-2014 around the same time he had also begun developing a range of potentially rival clothing and tat businesses to rival Britain First's.

Undeterred, Golding had taken it upon himself to jointly promote both Britain First and KTI through his own mass social media though, cautiously, Golding first had Dowson removed from the group's administration pages.

To further protect his own "investment" in Britain First, Dowson had accommodated and then scuppered potential merger talks between Britain First and EDL founder Stephen Lennon in mid-2015 but, at the same time, was rekindling his other previously lucrative relationship – the one with Nick Griffin.

Griffin had been pressuring Dowson to dump Britain First since the two met up in Russia and the two began hatching their moneymaking schemes again. The APF had been pestering Griffin to persuade Dowson to undertake its social media work and membership lists in the same way he had done with Griffin's BNP.

In exchange for this, Griffin duly provided an outlet for KTI and Dowson to present themselves to any potential American funder as involved in humanitarian work in Syria, even if the route into Syria for Griffin was via Hezbollah.

As one former employee in Dowson's office said: "He (Dowson) actually began hiding every time they phoned. He thought they could see him through his mobile phone."

In November 2015, Dowson took possession of a large building formerly owned

by the Hungarian Reform Church. The anti-abortionist Téglásy, now KTI "Grand Prior", took possession of the building and Dowson again had to try and break the tie with Britain First.

That month he and Téglásy travelled to England to address Britain First's annual conference near Chesterfield. Having expected a uniformed fascist like themselves, many found Téglásy's sermon hard to stomach.

Back in Budapest, KTI's offices in the more upmarket "Parisian" part of the city were taking shape. A series of visitors from Sweden, France and Netherlands visited what was quietly becoming known as a far right hub. A Swedish fascist writer and publisher who set up base in the city commented warmly on KTI's large offices, its stained glass windows, conference room, meeting rooms and living quarters and, of course, Hungary's relatively cheap cost of living. KTI were reporting back on line, describing their racist hub quite differently, preferring to call it their "Chapter House."

As winter drew in, the bars and cafes around KTI's offices were a small but active hive

KTI at High-Level Conference and in Hungarian Parliament



KTI's end of year report: Selling God, selling homes. (above) KTI hide the faces of those behind the conspiracy to sell Boers to Budapest

of visiting and interested far right activists from across Europe. In December, Téglásy and Dowson hosted a KTI Christmas party in a smart restaurant beside the river Danube. Dressed in KTI robes, not too dissimilar to that of a Father Christmas costume, Téglásy produced a ceremonial sword heavily smeared in pig fat for the guests to kiss! KTI later reproduced a photograph from the dinner in their annual report, but unsurprisingly pixellated the faces of those there. As well as at least one Jobbik MP, KTI's fifty guests were drawn from the civil service, churches and the Hungarian far right and included Griffin and Fiore.

Notable at the table was not just the village mayor Toroczka but also the notorious Hungarian fanatic György Budaházy who has been in preliminary detention and under house arrest since his group of radicals named the Hunnia Movement planned a coordinated series of bomb attacks in 2009. Budaházy is a close former associate of Toroczka and the two were prominent together in the 2006 anti-parliamentary riots.

At the end of December, the same group of people, having familiarised themselves intimately with the infamous pork sword, trooped to Ásotthalom to inspect and admire the fence along the

border with Serbia.

As we have reported earlier, former BNP member and South African secret service asset Arthur Kemp was on hand for the two-day conference. Griffin and Dowson's plan was now an open secret.

Between the two of them, they had devised a bizarre plan to ship Boer farmers from South Africa to Ásotthalom to work on farms there. Dowson had convinced Griffin he could get the support of Jobbik and the Hungarian churches (in particular the Calvinist church of whom the Boers are adherents) to support their plan. Dowson also secured the support of one of the Reform Church's bishops in Budapest for the project.

Arriving in Ásotthalom to discuss his own exactly similar plans, Kemp was made very unwelcome by his hosts. Undeterred, he was later to launch an appeal to bring members of the Transvaal Farmers' Union to Budapest to negotiate with the Hungarian government as to whether there was any way they would consider helping settle skilled foreign farmers in the country.

A Jobbik-aligned website reported that Kemp did indeed turn up to a meeting with the government but it was cancelled by the government at the last moment. Kemp did not have support from the churches by all accounts and this was made known to the government.

Dowson next made a fleeting appearance in Britain in January to speak at a Britain First rally in Dewsbury, after which it appears all communications and links with Britain First ground to a halt.

In the same month, Griffin delighted the UK by announcing that he was leaving the country, "possibly to Poland." No longer in dire financial straits all of a sudden, Griffin was also delirious as he believed he had found a buyer for his family home to the tune of £400,000.



Mayor for hire: Laslo Toroczka sells his village to KTI followers

In February, Dowson's KTI issued a video promoting white flight to Hungary. KTI claimed it would do everything to help people settle in the country. It went as far as offering even to find homes and accommodation for people.

This was later to be followed by two videos Dowson issued in May, one an appeal to let Boers settle in Hungary and the other a puff piece on the town of Ásotthalom with mayor Toroczka happily obliging with a tour of the town and an anti-Communist rant to explain its depopulation.

In March of this year, Griffin and Fiore travelled to Budapest to address a meeting at the Reform church. A small group of protestors outside the meeting were confronted by the unsettling site of members of the racist Hungarian biker gang Betyársereg standing guard outside the church.

It was the third such conference KTI had staged to warn Hungarians they were in danger of being invaded by "hordes of foreigners" (i.e. Muslims.) Griffin, posing as some kind of European statesman, warned the meeting "The whole of Europe – including Britain – is in the early stages of a population collapse three times worse than the Black Death." The message was clear: turn your back on the EU and encourage white flight.

By now, the KTI hub in central Budapest was up and running and, from offices inside their building, Dowson

had a small gang of followers pumping out his literature under the watchful eye of "Grand Prior" Téglásy.

We have traced five websites back to the KTI offices in Budapest: the European Press Agency, Arabic Press Agency, Visegrad News, Jesus is Lord and This is Hungary, all run and updated by members of the KTI now working in Hungary where there are laws allowing foreign businesses to avoid employer taxes.

The group also pumped out highly emotive propaganda messages in support of the "Leave" campaign during the UK's European Referendum, though deep down, Dowson and Griffin were hoping for an "in" vote to increase the urge for white flight.

The current fee for "resettlement" is apparently around £7,000 according to callers to Dowson's offices in Belfast. The poor Boers meanwhile, remain looking for a benefactor to help them escape their supposed post-Apartheid hell. Arthur Kemp's efforts have so far raised even less than the £700 he needed just to get to Budapest.

Writing in April, a Hungarian former employee at the US embassy in Budapest wrote in the *Hungary Today* journal: "Tens, possibly hundreds of thousands of German, Dutch, French, Belgian, and other western European citizens may opt to move to Hungary in the next 20–30 years and settle there in the wake of the migration crisis."

So far, the Hungarians have not been consulted on this. ●

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR
INTERNATIONAL

Annual Report 2015



Jo Cox was an activist to we have to continue her

**Jo Cox's close friend, *Kirsty McNeill*, remembers the
Batley & Spen MP who was murdered in mid-June**

Every morning I wake up to a photo of Jo Cox. It is from the moment at my wedding when confetti was thrown. She is in the middle of the frame – in the thick of it as always, grinning at the joy of others, hands clasped in the encouraging applause, which was her physical default.

The morning afterwards, as others nursed their whisky haze and considered their journey home through Scotland's January snow, fearless, tiny Jo climbed a Munro and sent a photo of a congratulations message she'd carved into the ice at the top.

The year before she had shared dinner and drinks with a group of women from all over the world. She told a story about being a girl who was too shy to call anybody to find out how to get from her home village to Leeds. She managed it in the end, because somebody put an arm round her shoulder and said, "Of course you can do it, I know you can." She was reflecting that everything she'd ever achieved since had happened after encouragement like that and asked us to do that for one another and for other women.

Through her work with women candidates for political office and other campaigners I watched her do it again and again. Half holding you upright, half shoving you forward. That's what it meant to have Jo's arm

around your shoulder.

Much has already been written about Jo's many identities. Our friend Jo was a forceful feminist, unwavering humanitarian and relentless campaigner – for the people of Syria, to stop women dying in childbirth just because they were too poor to have the care of a midwife, to embrace the stranger and make refugees welcome.

In itself, this is an inspiration for all of us to do and be better. But for me the revelation of Jo's life was not just what she did, but the how she did it. Jo believed in the power of common action, never just asking, "What do you think?", but "How should we do it?" In her mind there was no question that could not be answered in working together.

Jo didn't just believe in her ideals, she did something to advance them every single day. For her it wasn't enough to be thinking about big things, you needed to be busy making them happen. That's why her friends are immersed, even in the midst of our sorrow, in raising funds and building a worldwide mobilisation to show, in Jo's words, that we have more in common than that which divides us.

Given the nature of what has happened and the times in which we live, it could be easy to stay frozen in grief, asking ourselves how to respond. But Jo was, to her fingertips and to the last, an activist. This is her tribe and this is what we do. ●



to the last – work

HOPE not hate is dedicated to remember Jo Cox by building a #MoreInCommon campaign



The birthday memorial for Jo Cox, MP, at London's Trafalgar Square.
Photo: Garry Knight

#MoreInCommon

HOPE not hate meetings have been taking place around the country to discuss how we can heal some of the divisions opened up during the Referendum campaign.

Below is a brief report of some of our #MoreInCommon campaign meetings

NOTTINGHAM Held in a packed room in Nottingham, it was clear from the meeting that post referendum social rifts had shocked Nottinghamshire residents.

Stories of members of the migrants' communities – European and non-European, first generation and fourth – all suffering from a dramatic rise in hate directed at them in the street abounded. Families feeling unwelcome in their homes and community asked what could we do to support them.

On top of this was a desire to repair the social damage following Brexit, to put the vote behind us and to rebuild relationships. HOPE not hate (Hnh) listened and will now be putting on a community training event on 21 July in Nottingham city centre.

The training addresses two main issues that people wanted help with: firstly, how to challenge racism in the street and, secondly, how to develop some basic community organising skills. The sessions will be focusing around a technique called the "Story of Us", a tool used in many civil rights campaigns. We will be aiming to train 60 new volunteers.

THURROCK Thurrock has, for many years, been at the forefront of Hnh's campaigning work. With UKIP now the official opposition on the local council and the social fallout following the EU referendum, it is ever more important to offer the local residents alternative messages to fear and xenophobic finger-pointing.

At a #MoreInCommon meeting in Grays on 7 July, it was clear from those attending that Thurrock felt distant from the mainstream course of events.

For many residents, the lack of good job prospects and cuts in vital local services have left growing anger and resentment. It is clear that people feel politicians are not listening to their concerns, leaving a vacuum filled by UKIP, mixing up people's genuine

concerns and issues with messages of anti-immigration racism that distract from discussion of real solutions.

At the meeting, it was decided that a local campaign needs to be launched to get people talking about their concerns and to provide understanding that can take them past rhetoric picked up from the right-wing media and get to the heart of their problems.

Therefore, HOPE not hate will be launching friendly community events to get people talking. The plan is to holding welcoming community-rooted events away from offices and meeting rooms and go into the heart of neighbourhoods. Informal BBQs and chats over a cuppa on the very streets that need Hnh's message more than ever before will help get things moving. These conversations will then shape the future of the Thurrock campaign.

YORK A vibrant meeting of over 30 people came together in York on 6 July as part of the national Hnh #More In Common initiative.

A broad mix of people, from varied backgrounds, both younger and older, resolved to set up a HOPE not hate group in York. Everyone was concerned about the rising levels of racism and racist assaults and all were determined to make sure that the voice of hope was raised in York to show solidarity with the victims of racism and to work with those who may be vulnerable to racism.

A particular feature of the meeting was the number of people attending who, in the past have followed HOPE not hate on line but now want to do more.

As a result of this, Hnh can report that a #More In Common event will be held in York on 3 September as well as leafleting and other activities leading up to it.

Many different ideas about possible future work in the city were discussed and the group will meet again soon to start planning.

CAMBRIDGE One of the most diverse cities in UK, Cambridge was a perfect place to hold a #MoreInCommon meeting.

Meeting together for the first time, people were able to share their dismay at the racism stirred up since the Referendum result.

Breaking into small groups, people brainstormed on finding ways to share the hope and togetherness that have traditionally been synonymous with Cambridge.

Exciting plans ensued, including a family fun day in Arbury, one of the most deprived wards in the city. Scheduled for September, the event will centre on 5-a-side football, sharing food and bringing together white working class members of the community with their ethnic minority and migrant neighbours.

The group also agreed to approach the wider community in Huntingdon and establish how best to organise a solidarity event after members of the Polish community there were targeted with "No more Polish vermin" hate messages.

SWANSEA Thirty-five people from a variety of different backgrounds met in Swansea to discuss the aftermath of the referendum. Pleasingly, people who had voted Leave and Remain were united by a desire to challenge hatred.

The common theme was to explore how to build on the amazing success of Wales' run in the European Football Championships and combine efforts across the town for a major event.

There was interest in the need to campaign among to disaffected people in the community, particularly the young, and the local Hnh group will meet again soon to thrash out details of its planned events and actions.

MERTHYR TYDFIL Our first meeting in Merthyr led to some exciting developments and the beginning of a



local Hnh presence. Led by our Merthyr organiser, we will be working hard over the next few months in the South Wales Valleys.

Merthyr is a town built through migration and those present discussed ways of celebrating and articulating this tradition and, in particular, how to turn the tide against UKIP.

IPSWICH Our initial #MoreInCommon meeting in Ipswich was an opportunity to meet and share ideas for uniting communities in the local area. Plans for the next few months include running a food event on Norwich Road, involving all communities in fun days organised by local councils, contacting the Student Union of Suffolk College to run projects in the next academic year, and working with a new BAME business network in Ipswich. Loads of energy and excitement about the future in Ipswich!

COLCHESTER One of our biggest #MoreInCommon meetings so far in Colchester saw a turnout of 50 people, so even our first meeting felt like a celebration of the community we live in! Plans have now started to run a community picnic in the near future as well as a music event and working with local Citizens group on a large fun day in October.

We are also working on an exciting idea to film local people's lives in what may be a long-term project.

MANCHESTER Almost 40 people attended a lively meeting in Manchester. All but two of those attending were new to Hnh and most voiced a determination that they could no longer sit by and watch our social problems grow.

The meeting broke into four groups, each discussing local actions plans for their communities.

A six-person committee has been set up to drive activities forward and more localised Hnh meetings will now take place in Stockport, Rochdale and Salford. An activist from Blackburn also volunteered to help set up a group there.

SOUTHEND Over 60 Southend residents gave up their Monday evening to make their way to the Westcliffe URC to discuss what can be done in the wake of the social divisions that have arisen post-Brexit.

The first half of the meeting was open to people to talk about their feelings and concern in the "new normal" of British politics.

Stories were told of local European residents packing their bags and heading back to their country of origin, leaving behind their jobs and uprooting their children who probably only know of life in Essex.

However, it was not all doom and gloom. A great desire was reflected from the minority population in Southend to pull together and establish community action plans. A gardening group called "Blooming Foreigners" is just one of a number of initiatives that have already been set up.

Those at the meeting seemed keen to organise fora to share experiences and rebuild community links, with a local clergyman keen to stress the need to not just speak to like-minded people but also to those with concerns about immigration. A massive thank you to friends at CAST for hosting the meeting!

Read reports on #MoreInCommon campaign meetings as they happen at hopenothate.org.uk/educational/blog/

Conspiracy and congratulatory hatred greets MP's death

By **Matthew Collins**

THE NIGHT before Labour MP Jo Cox was murdered on 16 June the "Notts Casual Infidels" (NCI) a ragbag of EDL, UKIP and North West Infidels supporters posted, on their Facebook page, a suggestion that another Labour MP be "disappeared" for her role, a year before, in supporting a rally in favour of Britain taking in Syrian refugees.

It was the second time they had targeted the same MP. Fewer than 24 hours later, as news emerged of Cox's assassination, the same writer was back on line. Details of Cox's murder were still sketchy but it was already known that the alleged murderer was believed to have referred to the far right Britain First during his attack.

"We knew it was only a matter of time before we take it to the next level," wrote the NCI's "author". "We have been mugged off for Far (sic) to (sic) long!...Now is the time," he warned.

Decent society recoiled in horror. Both sides of the House of Commons, the mainstream political parties and also parties in the legislative assemblies across the UK were dumbfounded.

But not the extreme far right where a rabid collection of cowards and charlatans, fundamentally lacking in human emotion, wallowed in elation. The more that became known of the alleged circumstances, the more they revelled in it.

The South East Alliance, a tiny but volatile group behind much disorder on the south coast, posted a picture on its Facebook page – while she was fighting for her life – of Ms Cox standing with members of her local Muslim community. "I really hope

it was a Muslim that shot the dirty bitch," wrote one supporter. "Now that would be called ironic," replied SEA's administrator.

Upon acquainting himself with the latest details, "Mr Excitable" came back to write that he was waiting to open some beers for when Cox died.

Cox's murder was to have ramifications for the far right, but it is long past damage control or damage limitation these days.

Nick Griffin, the failed former MEP and ex-leader of the British National Party (BNP), linked Cox's murder to Syria on social media, sharing the incorrect assumption that she had voted to bomb his pals in Syria (when in fact she had abstained).

"Ms Cox led the charge to bomb Syria. Hundreds of thousands would have died if we'd succumbed to Ms Cox's warmongering," he whined.

Britain First, fingered in the murder, was slow to react.

Normally, it would have jumped immediately onto the anti-Muslim conspiracy bandwagon but, as it became clearer that it might have to defend itself for its threats to politicians, "traitors" etc, it became the champion of defending the mentally ill – the killer having been so labelled – as did its founder, the far right wheeler-dealer Jim Dowson.

From the depths of his Budapest bunker, Dowson lamented Ms Cox's death but, like Britain First, made it clear that this was a mental health issue and not the action of an alleged adherent of its policies.

Even if Britain First had been threatening politicians and training with knives in Wales only days before, this



National Action NE

#VoteLeave, don't let this man's sacrifice go in vain.
#JoCox would have filled Yorkshire with more subhumans!



Notts Casual Infidels

22 mins · 48

We knew it was only a matter of time before we take it to the next level. We have been mugged off for Far to long!

Now is the time



was nothing, it claimed, nothing to do with it.

It quickly dawned on many people that we had been living in a toxic bubble, related to the referendum on Britain's EU membership, for months. In the "campaign", the boundaries of decency were overstepped, language had become inflammatory and, very quickly, even Cox's tragic murder became a matter of fevered political contention.

From out of the eerie darkness of the English Defence League (EDL) there emerged within 24 hours a bizarre and startling theory linking Cox's murder with that of Swedish MP Anna Lindh in 2003 on the eve of a Swedish poll to create, in their minds,

sympathy for the pro-EU campaigns.

The conspiracy was later traced to "Rockerchild" a false flag series of YouTube and Facebook pages that debunk everything from the moon landings of 1969 to 9/11.

Before long, David Icke was also at it, propagating conspiracy theory in what appeared an attempt by the far right not just to dehumanise Cox, but also make her complicit in her own death.

In their sheer vulgarity, the extremists were united. National Action, the infantile but violent nazi gang, Tweeted: "don't let this man's (the alleged killer) sacrifice go in vain. #JoCox would have filled Yorkshire with more subhumans!"

Rotten politics

The 2016 elections highlighted the worst of British politics. **Nick Lowles** reports.

THE 2016 ELECTIONS campaign will undoubtedly be remembered for all the wrong reasons with the Labour Party embroiled in a row over antisemitic comments by one of its leading figures and the Conservative Party running a racist and Islamophobic campaign in London against Labour's Sadiq Khan.

The accusations of antisemitism surrounding Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn since he was elected last year were reignited a few days before the May elections when Bradford West MP, Naz Shah, was accused of sharing offensive posts on Facebook in 2014.

While Naz Shah immediately apologised, including writing an open letter in a Jewish newspaper, former London mayor Ken Livingstone was less contrite. Livingstone had waded in to defend Shah and, in the process, alleged that Hitler had supported Zionism "before he went mad and ended up killing 6 million Jews". That he made these remarks on a radio station with a Jewish host was even more offensive.

When confronted with outrage from across the political spectrum, Livingstone not only refused to apologise but toured the radio and TV studios to try to justify his comments. He was then suspended

by the Labour Party whose leader, Jeremy Corbyn, responded to the scandal by announcing an independent inquiry into antisemitism within the party.

While the media centred heavily on the issue of antisemitism, often as a means to attack the Labour leader, less attention was given to the Islamophobic campaign, orchestrated from the very top of the Conservative Party, against Labour's London mayoral candidate Sadiq Khan.

Zac Goldsmith, the Tory candidate hoping to replace Johnson, ran a coded campaign to link his Muslim opponent, Khan, with extremism. Knowing the difficult and sometimes violent history of the Punjab, this included sending Hindus and Sikhs letters claiming that Khan was a dangerous extremist out to tax their gold, possession of which is still viewed a safe way of saving within these communities.

Goldsmith was joined in his Muslim-baiting by prime minister David Cameron and defence secretary Michael Fallon who attacked Khan's links to Suleiman Gani, a south London cleric they accused of being linked to the terrorists of ISIS. Their accusations looked pretty stupid, however, when it

emerged that Gani had actually voted Conservative at the last general election. While Cameron made his spurious claims in Parliament – and so was protected by parliamentary privilege – Fallon did not and is being sued.

The Labour Party has set up an independent inquiry into antisemitism within its ranks but the Conservative Party has not felt that it has to answer for its racist campaigning.

If the Islamophobic slurs against Sadiq Khan were not bad enough, the then London mayor, Boris Johnson, claimed that President Obama's intervention over the EU referendum was motivated by an anti-Britishness supposedly derived from his Kenyan ancestry. This was nothing more than racism and Obama dutifully slapped Johnson down.

Had a Labour politician questioned the allegiance to this country of a rival because of where his or her parents were born, they would have been heavily (and rightly) condemned. Johnson, being Johnson, however, got nothing more than a couple of days of bad headlines.

This is miserable stuff, the only saving grace being that the voters of London rejected this kind of primitive politics and voted in Sadiq Khan by a landslide. ●



Boris Johnson and Zac Goldsmith

A symbol of integration

Sunder Katwala on the election of Sadiq Khan as London Mayor

SADIQ KHAN'S election as mayor of London made headlines around the world. The *New York Times* proclaimed him as the antidote to Trumpism while headlines across European capitals have embraced London's choice as a hopeful democratic riposte to the hatred unleashed in Brussels and Paris by the Islamist fascists of Daesh. Warm Pakistani congratulations to Sadiq Khan were often combined with doubts that any son of a bus driver would find a place in the Pakistani political elite soon.

Londoners are proud of the global status of our capital city but they did not go to the polls on 6 May thinking about sending a symbolic message to Donald Trump.

The city's left-leaning majority backed the Labour candidate, hoping he would put more energy into tackling the housing shortage, and make it more affordable to hop between buses on the way home. Most London Conservatives voted for Zac Goldsmith, though a campaign that could only succeed if it reached beyond the party base saw any hope of victory disappear as the green, independent-minded liberal Tory backbencher many people anticipated failed to turn up, leaving Goldsmith as an awkward advocate of the negative, cynical and losing campaign cooked up by his party's machine.

YouGov's final poll showed Khan has strong foundations for his commitment to be a mayor for all

Londoners, showing an electorate less polarised by race than previously with Khan overturning Ken Livingstone's 20-point deficit with white voters in 2012 to tie the white vote, while maintaining a substantial 69-31 lead with ethnic minority voters.

"Only in London" would be the worst possible response to the election of Sadiq Khan. For one thing, it is simply not true. The first British Muslim to be elected mayor of a major city was, the following afternoon, joined by Marvin Rees, the first black British directly elected mayor, bouncing back to be elected to the post in Bristol having missed out in 2012.

Party colours matter much more than skin colour in British politics. In mayoral races, the conduct and character of a candidate matters, while religious faith is irrelevant. Diversity is the new normality in British politics as the Conservative and Labour intakes to the House of Commons in 2015 both demonstrated.

The political consent which lets London be London depends on the views of the rest of the country: Londoners cannot decide the EU referendum result, our national immigration policy or approach to integration without broader coalitions of support well beyond the country.

Sadiq Khan's election makes him a symbol of integration. As mayor, he must be a practical champion of it too. He pledged to take personal leadership of the integration agenda

at the 6,000-strong London Citizens Assembly. He was responding to London Citizens and British Future's joint call to introduce an Office of Citizenship and Integration, drawing on the experience of US cities that would be a strong way to promote the practical agenda for integration and contact that can bring a fast-changing city together.

The office would have the central aim of promoting integration across the programmes of the GLA; including promoting the importance of universal fluency in the English language, by breaking down the barriers which leave shortages in provision; ensure that our democracy is not diminished by falls in registration and promote contact between Londoners of different backgrounds.

It would help to project the powerful message of citizenship ceremonies – of new Londoners becoming proud British citizens – in a way that can build confidence in our shared future.

Khan will remember that he was elected to serve London. It will be great if that that sends a hopeful example to emulate to Berlin, Paris and Washington too.

What might make most difference to Britain's anxious identity and integration debates, however, and the outcomes that liberal London might hope for, is if the actions and words of London's mayor get a hearing in Grimsby, Thurrock and East Anglia too.



A Closer Look: UKIP, the Far Right and the 2016 Local Election Results

By **David Emmett**

BY NOW you may have heard UKIP boasting about the results in the 2016's "Super Thursday" elections, trumpeted as a "breakthrough" by Farage. It is true that UKIP made gains, including becoming the joint largest party on Thurrock Council and winning seven seats in the Welsh Assembly. However, whilst these successes deserve attention, a closer analysis of the results shows UKIP have far less to celebrate than they claim.

Notably, UKIP remains a fringe player in London, mayoral candidate Peter Whittle drawing a paltry 3.6% of first preference votes and UKIP gaining just two of 25 London Assembly seats through the list system.

Farage's prediction that UKIP would win seats in Northern Ireland proved woefully optimistic as they failed to secure a single seat with a mean average of 2.06% of the votes.

Likewise, and to the surprise of nobody in particular, UKIP also returned

empty handed from Scotland, averaging a dismal 2% of votes. UKIP also failed to secure a single Police and Crime Commissioner.

What UKIP failed to mention while proclaiming its "success" was the noticeable decrease in the gains it achieved compared with previous years. UKIP won 55 council wards, giving them a net gain of 26. As we can see in the graph below, this is a major decrease from previous years. This is despite the issue agenda being dominated by immigration and the EU – the two issues absolutely central to UKIP's success.

UKIP drew numerous second place positions in targeted areas such as Dudley and Oldham, missing out on seats they hoped to win. This speaks of a deficit in its organisational ability to capitalise on opportunities and convert votes into seats, which is unfortunate (for UKIP) as it seems to be losing momentum.

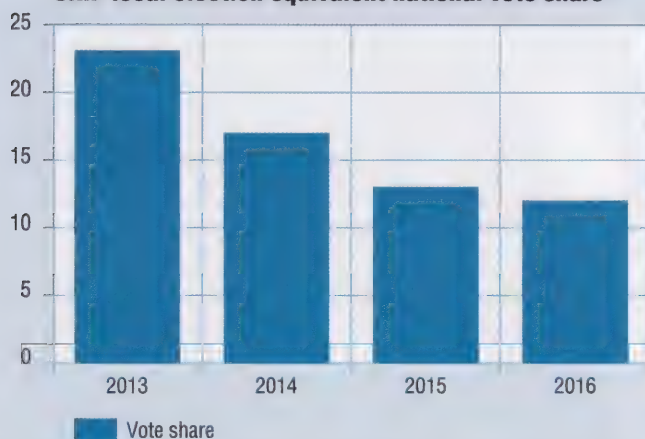
Projected National Vote Share

The BBC's Projected National Share (PNS) of the vote extrapolates the results of local elections to parts of Britain without elections in 2016, taking into account the different ranges of seats up for election each year and therefore offering like-for-like comparison between different years. These figures allow us to see what would likely have happened if the whole of Britain held local elections this May and if the pattern of candidature had been similar to that of a General Election.

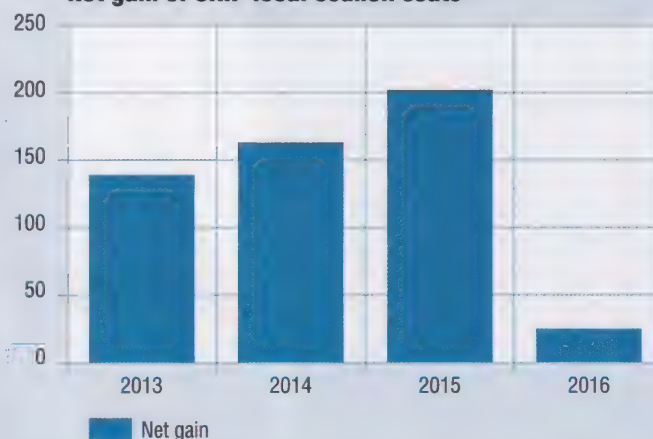
- Labour: 31%
- Conservative: 30%
- Liberal Democrat: 15%
- UKIP: 12%
- Others: 12%

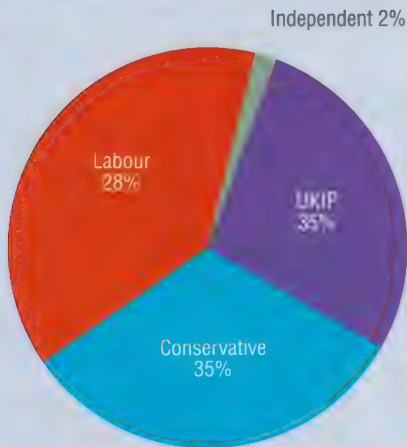
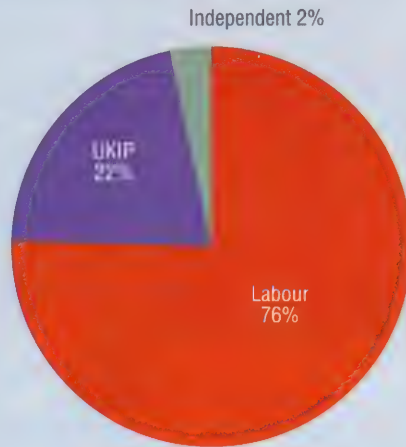
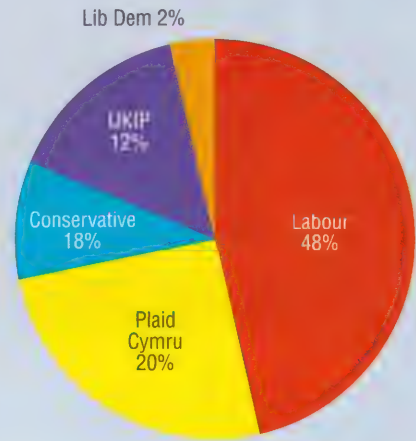
Not only have UKIP slumped back into fourth position, behind the Liberal Democrats, but the party's vote share has fallen for a third year in a row. It is now barely over half of its 23% peak of 2013.

UKIP local election equivalent national vote share



Net gain of UKIP local council seats



Thurrock Borough Council**Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council****Welsh Assembly Regional List results 2016**

That UKIP was able to gain any seats at all is attributable to the fact that most of the seats available in 2016 were last up for election in 2012, prior to the party's 2013 surge of support. However, 2017 will see UKIP's 2013 seats back up for election. If this downward trajectory continues, UKIP may well be deeply embarrassed this time next year, unless the results of the EU Referendum significantly disrupt the usual pattern of politics.

Thurrock

One area of concern is Thurrock in which UKIP had significant successes, gaining six seats. UKIP now holds equal control over the council with the Tories having been denied the status of largest party by a single vote in the Little Thurrock Blackshot ward which recounted three times.

UKIP's gains have come at the expense of Labour which has fallen from 18 to 14 seats. UKIP snatched three of these from Labour, continuing a trend that saw it grab five in 2015. UKIP has continued to make minor increases to its mean average of votes over the past three years.

Thurrock is a prime example of the communities UKIP targets: a traditionally white, working class, post-industrial area in the South East of England, once solidly Labour but that has veered sharply to the right in recent years, voting Conservative in the 2010 and 2015 General Elections. It is also worth noting that in 2008 the BNP was polling up to 25% there in local elections.

Thurrock was found to be "Britain's unhappiest town" in a 2012 government wellbeing survey. It seems unlikely that UKIP's divisive fear-mongering will cheer the place up anytime soon.

Mean average of UKIP local election votes in Thurrock

2012	12.55%
2014	35.10%
2015	36.16%
2016	39.48%

Mean average of UKIP local election votes in Rotherham

2012	23.93%
2014	44.44%
2015	34.22%
2016	35.34%

Rotherham

UKIP was disappointed in Rotherham, adding just two councillors to make a total of 14 and losing group leader Caven Vines and his wife and fellow councillor Maureen Vines. In a town still reeling from the child grooming scandal and with its Labour-led council heavily condemned in the Casey report, Labour still retains 48 of the town's 63 seats.

Despite the exploitative and sustained campaigning tactics of UKIP which has sought to utilise the tragedy, it has failed to maintain the surge in support it gained in the immediate aftermath of the scandal and its mean average vote has dropped significantly from 2014.

Interestingly, some of the wards in which UKIP was most successful were those least directly affected by immigration. The 2011 census shows that 94% of residents of Sitwell ward – where UKIP won all three available seats – were born in the UK. That UKIP is able successfully to blame social problems on immigration in such areas chimes

with an established body of research that shows that opposition to immigrants is highest in areas with the lowest levels of actual immigration.

Whilst support for UKIP remains high in Rotherham, the 2016 results have brought UKIP's giddy pre-election optimism back down to earth. The result can be considered, at least in part, a victory for HOPE not hate which campaigned tirelessly in Rotherham before the election and for all those who understand that blanket prejudice is not the solution Rotherham needs.

Wales

Of course, UKIP will draw attention to having secured seven of the 60 seats in the Welsh Assembly after pulling in 13% of the regional list vote. This will give it a foothold on domestic policies for the first time, despite numbers being below expectations.

UKIP averaged 12.5% of the constituency votes and managed over 20% in a cluster of Labour constituencies in South East Wales: Merthyr Tyfil and Rhymney, Newport East, Islwyn and Torfaen, where it came second place and Caerphilly, where it came third.

Again in Wales we can see that the votes UKIP did manage to get were taken from Labour, another affirmation of the dissatisfaction some people especially those in tired, overlooked industrial towns feel towards the political establishment. In the face of declining standards of living, some people have turned to simple solutions to complex problems but also crave real alternatives to the out-of-touch and complacent "Westminster elite".

However, UKIP's anti-establishment image is hollow. UKIP's leadership combines dewy-eyed nostalgia for

X VOTE HOPE

ON THURSDAY 5 MAY

**Rotherham needs solutions,
not political grandstanding**

supposedly fairer times with anti-trade union and pro-privatisation policies – not traditionally popular in neglected industrial areas – and a discriminatory immigration policy. The regional vote list system in Wales has seen the return of Neil Hamilton, a disgraced former Tory MP. UKIP has managed to simultaneously condemn “elites” while, in many ways, embodying the establishment and has done so by directing attention towards minorities and away from policies it hopes to sneak in via the backdoor. HOPE not hate will build on our victories campaigning against UKIP and continue to expose this false facade.

The Extreme Right

While UKIP's results were mixed, the results of the traditional far right were plain bad, further evidence of its continued decline.

The BNP, which had looked so menacing in 2007 with its 744

candidates, fielded just five in 2016, all of whom failed dismally.

An anomaly is the Marsden ward in Pendle where it continues to pose a threat. BNP candidate, John Rowe, accrued 36.35% of the vote, leaving him only narrowly beaten into second place by the Tories. While the percentage is high, it is satisfying to know that the BNP's sole councillor, Brian Parker has been denied company in his lonely seat which is not up for re-election until 2018.

Further evidence of the extreme right's political oblivion can be seen in the Havering by-election, in which the BNP managed just 1.96% votes, beaten into last place only by the presence of unintentional comedian Kevin Layzell of the National Front (who amassed a whopping 14 votes and 0.38%).

Five reasons to reject UKIP in Rotherham



1. UKIP will cut local services

UKIP policy is to cut public spending by more than the current Government, so you can imagine the cuts to local services if UKIP got control of the council. Schools, activities for our kids and social care will all suffer.



2. Schools under threat

UKIP want to bring back the Grammar school system. That means middle class kids getting extra resources.



3. Abolishing our rights

UKIP is opposed to many of the rights we now take for granted. If UKIP had its way, then it would abolish maternity rights, health and safety rules which protect us at work and our four weeks holiday entitlement.

Defend the city



VOTE HOPE OVER FEAR

www.hopenothate.org



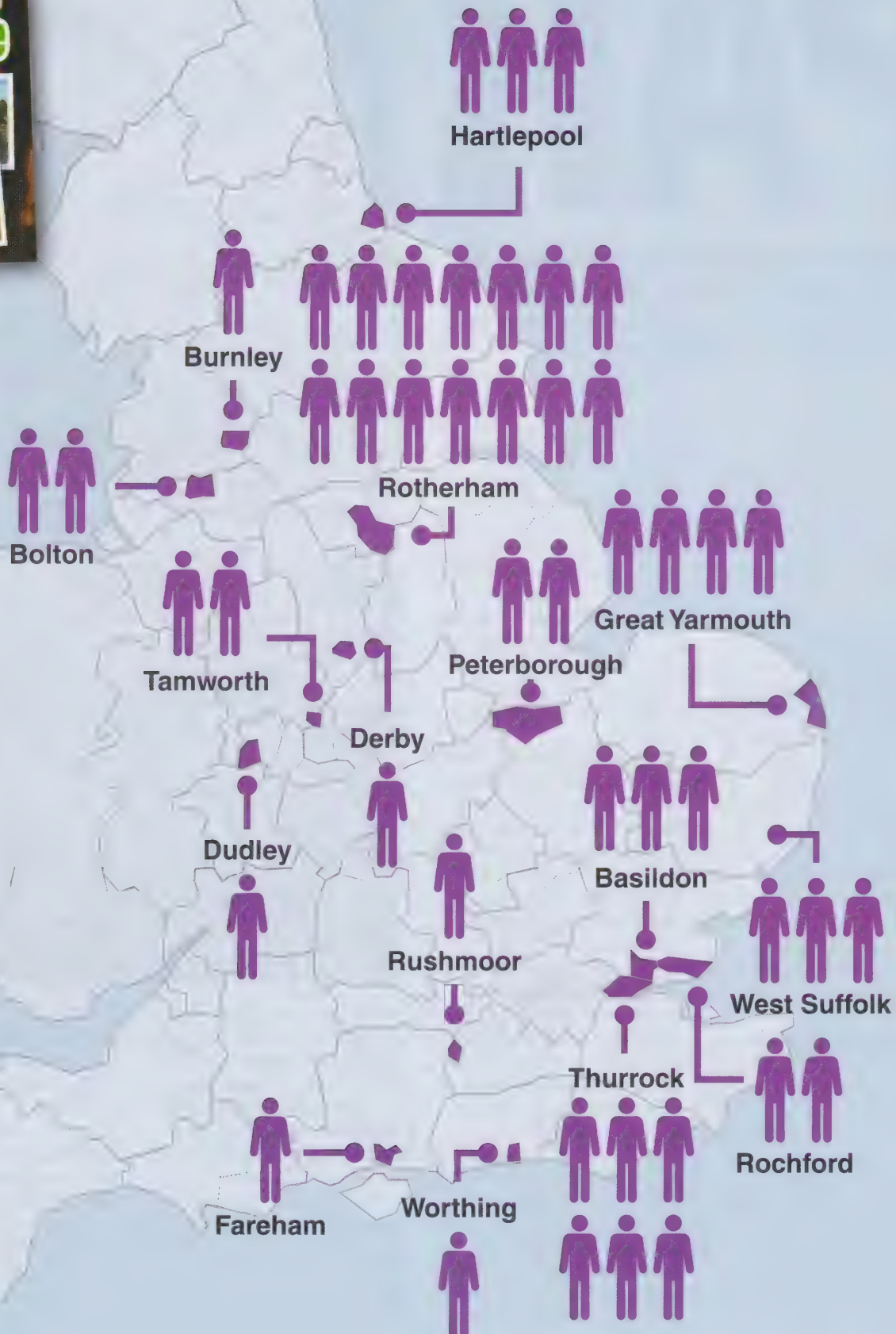
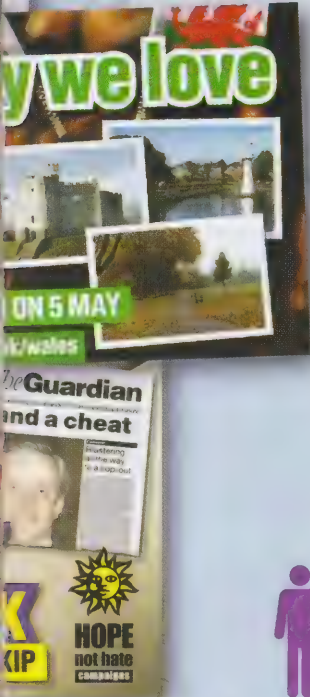
DISGRACED TORY POLITICIAN IS BACK

This time, Neil Hamilton is standing for U

The National Front drew a mean average of 3.48% of the vote across all elections. The English Democrats fared only marginally better, with a mean average of 5.72% of the vote in the 16 wards they contested.



UKIP winning councillors



BELOW PAR

Tom Godwin and Katie Williamson explain that while UKIP made significant breakthroughs in the Welsh Assembly election on 5 May, its advance was not as big as expected

HOPE NOT HATE'S biggest-ever campaign in Wales finished on 5 May with UKIP winning its first ever seats in the Welsh Assembly.

Thanks to a regional Proportional Representation voting system, we knew from the start we were unlikely to stop UKIP from gaining seats. We organised regardless, however, knowing we could help narrow the margins and prevent it from winning the 10 seats predicted in December. In the end, seven UKIP candidates were elected.

This was a sobering outcome but it should be put into context. While the second vote system gave UKIP 7 new Assembly members, in many areas its share of the vote fell, its overall share of the vote in Wales dropping since the May 2015 General Election. This included important exceptions, however. In the South East Valleys – especially in the Caerphilly, Islwyn and Torfaen constituencies – its vote share increased from 19% in the general election to around 22% this year.

With local elections next year, this is clearly a problem. UKIP support in de-industrialised areas with little job security is not unique to

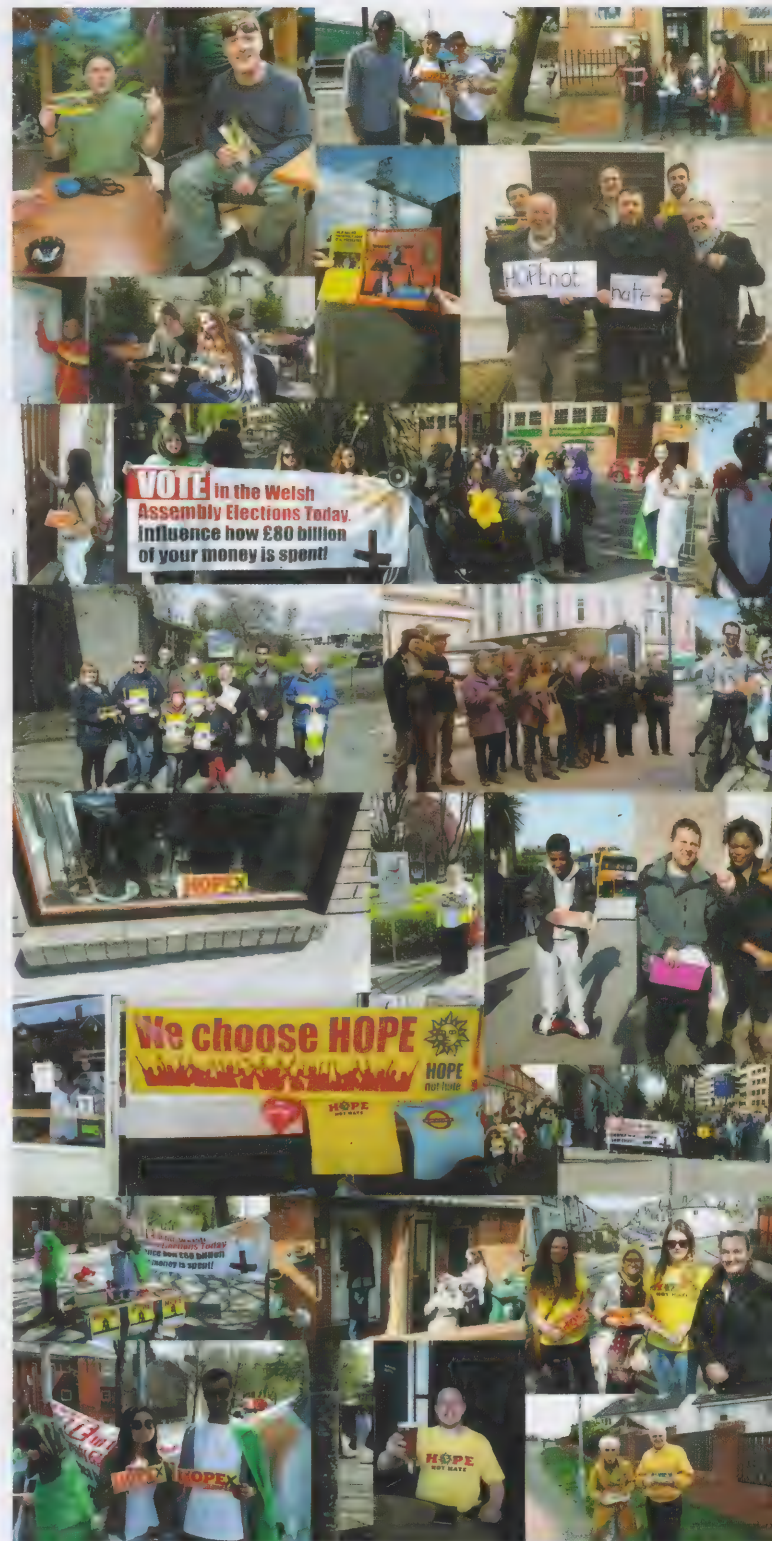
Wales but it is acute in the former mining communities of the South East Valleys.

The failure of successive governments to reverse the damage inflicted by the war on the mining communities, led by the Thatcher government in the 1980s and early 1990s, partly explains why many former Labour voters have shifted their allegiance to UKIP in South Wales.

Ironically, votes cast for UKIP in South East Wales only served to elect former Tory MP Mark Reckless. Our leaflets sought to get it across that a vote for UKIP in South East Wales was a vote for an ex-Tory with a right-wing voting record.

Our campaign in the South Wales Central region was more successful. This region includes areas of high UKIP support such as the Cynon Valley constituency along with multicultural Cardiff. Following a long voter registration campaign that had engaged with thousands since 2015, our work in Cardiff to get voters out had undoubted impact.

This was a high-visibility campaign. Rather than only seeking to limit the UKIP vote, efforts concentrated on



making sure people opposed to UKIP got out to vote and “defend the city we love”. Despite a letter signed by 16 UKIP candidates calling for his de-selection, Gareth Bennett topped UKIP's list for South Wales Central.

Bennett had made a series of bizarre xenophobic remarks in a BBC interview blaming litter in Cardiff on Eastern Europeans. Amusingly, a UKIP activist was caught fly-tipping at a

beauty spot a week later. Our campaign focused on the disparity between Bennett and tolerant and diverse Cardiff.

In areas where HOPE not hate (Hnh) ran its most intensive campaigns, UKIP's share of the vote was cut. Wrexham was the focus of perhaps our most intensive effort. Despite it being UKIP's hub in North East Wales, its share of the vote fell from 15.5% to 9.1%. Many



Hnh activists accustomed to seeing UKIP in the town centre every weekend saw this as a victory.

Our political campaign combined with sustained community work to create a real buzz in the town. We also ran an intensive campaign in Newport West, where UKIP's vote share fell from 15.2% to 13.8%.

In Merthyr Tydfil, our efforts were less successful. 15,000 leaflets went

through doors, as well as a well-received community newsletter but UKIP's vote share rose by 2%.

Instead of an immediate victory, what the campaign in Merthyr achieved was the creation of an activist base for us to continue organising.

Here, and in other areas like Cardiff, Swansea, Newport and Wrexham we are ready to develop the relationships formed during the campaign and continue the long-term

UKIP Welsh Elections Political Analysis

Constituency	General Elections 2015	Welsh Elections 2016	Vote Share Difference
Torfaen	19.00%	22.60%	-3.60%
Caerphilly	19.30%	22.00%	-2.70%
Islwyn	19.60%	22.20%	-2.60%
Newport East	18.40%	20.90%	-2.50%
Merthyr Tydfil & Rhymney	18.70%	20.70%	-2.00%
Cynon Valley	16.30%	18.00%	-1.70%
Preseli Pembrokeshire	10.50%	11.60%	-1.10%
Camarthen East & Dinefwr	11.10%	11.70%	-0.60%
Swansea West	13.50%	13.80%	-0.30%
Delyn	16.40%	16.40%	0.00%
Dwyfor Meirionnydd	10.80%	10.60%	0.20%
Alyn & Deeside	17.60%	17.40%	0.20%
Pontypridd	13.40%	13.10%	0.30%
Gower	11.20%	10.90%	0.30%
Camarthen West & South Pembrokeshire	11.60%	11.30%	0.30%
Bridgend	15.00%	14.60%	0.40%
Monmouth	10.40%	9.80%	0.60%
Vale of Clwyd	13.00%	12.30%	0.70%
Aberavon	15.80%	15.00%	0.80%
Montgomeryshire	11.20%	10.40%	0.80%
Clwyd West	13.10%	12.30%	0.80%
Cardiff North	7.70%	6.70%	1.00%
Vale of Glamorgan	10.70%	9.70%	1.00%
Ceredigion	10.20%	9.00%	1.20%
Brecon & Radnorshire	8.30%	7.10%	1.20%
Swansea East	17.20%	15.90%	1.30%
Newport West	15.20%	13.80%	1.40%
Cardiff South & Penarth	13.80%	12.30%	1.50%
Neath	16.40%	14.90%	1.50%
Ogmore	15.40%	13.80%	1.60%
Llanelli	16.30%	14.70%	1.60%
Blaenau Gwent	17.90%	16.10%	1.80%
Cardiff Central	6.50%	4.70%	1.80%
Ynys Mon	14.70%	12.80%	1.90%
Clwyd South	15.60%	12.80%	2.80%
Cardiff West	11.20%	8.20%	3.00%
Rhondda	12.70%	9.40%	3.30%
Wrexham	15.50%	9.10%	6.40%
AVERAGE	14.00%	13.38%	

work needed to turn the tide against the politics of fear and division that UKIP represents.

While 7 UKIP's Assembly Members, have not put us in a celebratory mood, it is hard not to feel positive about the campaign we ran. It was our largest ever, with hundreds of people leafleting and knocking on doors across the country.

We expected UKIP successes. Its vote share had been high in the general election and the attention on the EU referendum enabled it to continue to conflate Welsh devolved politics with the EU and immigration.

Now the party has elected officials, it will face a different set of tests. It will be interesting to see how the new group functions within the Welsh Assembly.

It has already been turbulent. In a move described by Nigel Farage as "unjust" and "a deep act of ingratitude" to leadership contender Nathan Gill, Neil Hamilton has taken charge of the UKIP group in the Senedd.

Now led by a disgraced former Tory, UKIP's appeal as an anti-establishment party of protest in Wales could well shrink.



Britain First's Paul Golding Turns His Back On Sadiq Khan During London Mayoral Election Speech

Far right miffed at electoral stuffing

Matthew Collins reports...

"LAST NIGHT things did not go well for us" wrote Britain First's Steve Lewis. They (Britain First/BF) are not normally such sensitive souls. Their London mayoral candidate, party leader Paul Golding, had just made derisory headlines for them yet again, this time by turning his back when the winning candidate, Labour's Sadiq Khan, was announced.

Earlier there had been pushing, shoving and near handbags over a bowl of chips between Britain First and British National Party (BNP) candidates as they prowled the floor waiting for London to announce its final count tallies for Mayor and the Greater London Assembly (GLA). With a massive 1.49% of the vote, Britain First got more than double the BNP's vote.

Veteran Jew-hater Richard Edmonds, standing for London Assembly by constituency (and not the "list") managed just 0.6% for Croydon & Sutton under the tattered banner of the National Front.

For the BNP, a mayoral vote of just 0.5% and the list vote a mere 0.6% were horrific. In 2008, the party had been

elected to the GLA with 5.4%. It did not campaign much, but it did campaign more than Britain First which relied on outlets like the *Huffington Post* to provide most of its publicity.

Across the far right there was a similar picture. The National Front's Nick Walsh was mocked from the floor of the count in Hull when his earth-shattering seven votes were announced and, in the North West, police were called to investigate allegations against the BNP of postal fraud and voter intimidation in Pendle.

The far right website *Heritage & Destiny*, which, although close to the British Democratic Party has a rather platonic stance towards other far right parties, described the elections as "a disaster of historic proportions for the British nationalist movement," calling for "a serious rethink of our whole strategy and organisation".

"Paul Golding's party might win a few recruits from the BNP now, having achieved more than double the BNP's vote in London, but it is difficult to see how it can contribute to the broader

nationalist cause," it went on.

The parties themselves gave little indication where they thought they had gone wrong. Aside from a (still being probed) second place in Pendle for the BNP, it was one disaster after another.

In some areas the BNP polled better than expected, 11% in Kingstone Ward in Barnsley for instance, but with there being no UKIP candidate standing, even *Heritage & Destiny* found little to cheer about there.

The focus for the far right was as much on London as it was for the mainstream media in the aftermath. And it viewed as a major disaster – not so much electorally, but also culturally – the election of a Muslim mayor.

Somehow, Britain First had actually believed it was on the cusp of something, possibly about to match the BNP's 2008 feat, but, at the last moment, having over-excited its American fanbase with tales that the party was about to experience electoral breakthrough, Golding was forced onto the internet to quash his own predictions and dampen spirits.

BF's ridiculous expectations

had been pushed on its Facebook pages, followed up with excited messages begging for just one more pound in the party's fight to be elected.

In the end, Golding and BF had to join in the gloom of the other few and far between far right candidates across the country. Their own post-election analysis was a mixture of fantasy and wonder, suggesting, among other things, that the BNP should not have stood.

Golding's Deputy, Jayda Fransen, the *faux* brains of the gang wrote: "Britain First is 'knocking the door' of the political mainstream and our London election campaign has cemented our position as a serious political contender," making their 1.49% and 1.2% flopperama sound more plausible than it was but still considerably less ground breaking than promised.

The BNP, more humiliated than it was even thought possible to be after nearly seven years of perpetual decline, made little comment, other than that London was "finished", which is what the previous two leaders of the party had always said. ●

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TUNE IN, TURN UP, TURN OUT

Nick Ryan tells the story of the UK's biggest voter registration campaign

HOT ON THE HEELS of our London mayoral voter registration (VR) campaign with ice cream makers Ben & Jerry's, HOPE not hate (Hnh) teamed up with youth empowerment movement, Bite The Ballot, to engage young potential voters across the UK.

We were faced with a daunting mission: up to 7.5m people nationally were not voting in elections. Predominant among these were the young, many of who had dropped off the electoral register following rushed changes – brought in by the government last December – called IER (Individual Electoral Registration).

The statistics showed overwhelmingly that the older sections of the population

would vote (particularly those over 65) while the young would not, even if they were registered to vote (which many were not).

Under-25s were twice as likely not to be on the electoral register as the population at large, according to the Electoral Commission, with almost 30% not registered. Under-25s were also half as likely to vote as those aged over 65.

How would we energise those young people to take action and register? What was worse, the Referendum vote was scheduled for the Glastonbury weekend and many young voters we had previously targeted were not going to be at their university addresses when

the Referendum vote took place on 23 June. We would have to have a massive national drive if we were to get noticed.

Turn Up

Our answer was #TurnUp, a partnership between Bite The Ballot and ourselves. #TurnUp would become part of mass online and offline campaigns to help 1.8 million people join the electoral register by the time the voter registration deadline dropped at midnight on 7 June*.

The campaign would be neutral on Leave/Remain and, as the turnaround had to be fast, we announced the campaign on 19th May, focusing on a week of action between



in the first few hours, yet many gave up when navigating the Government's VR sign-up process and requests for National Insurance numbers), there were huge volumes trafficking this cloaked redirection by the end of the campaign.

We held dozens of events on the ground, including popular sign-ups with free ice cream outside universities around the country. More than 70 universities also contacted all their students, using the TurnUp link, encouraging them to register to vote.

We gave lectures on the EU at a further 20+ FE colleges across London, encouraged faith communities to join in our VR drive – with imams nationwide urging Muslims to participate and an #IBelieveInVoting hashtag – and TurnUp partners UK Youth pushed the VR message to 4,000 youth clubs nationwide.

We also had support from the TUC, the employers' organisation, the CBI, several major trade unions and delivered VR encouragement in workplaces and towards carers and families, too.

On Facebook, Katie Hopkins clashed with young people during a debate on a live-streamed show, with Bob Geldof making a special guest appearance at the end. Bite The Ballot also organised 50 "democracy cafés" at Starbucks stores nationwide, providing young people with free drinks and food in return for allowing them to debate issues around the Referendum.

31 May and 7 June.

Initially, we commissioned a survey from the polling organisation YouGov, which revealed that only 51% of 18-30 year-olds were certain they would even vote. Worse still, many were not engaged with the debate, did not know what or who to believe, and saw the whole thing as two groups of old white men shouting at each other.

According to our poll, only 10% of young people had any trust in politicians at all. This was followed by just 13% trusting in the media and 16% trusting in business leaders. Conversely, teachers & academics, other young people and then trade union leaders were among the most trusted members of society.

Clearly, both Leave and Remain campaigns needed to change their approach to the young, as the Referendum campaign quickly slid into slanging matches and scare stories emanating from both sides.

Digital drive

Bite The Ballot mobilised its expertise within the digital sphere to bring on board the dating app Tinder, taxi firm Uber, and takeaway service Deliveroo, all of whom offered links from their apps through to the Government's voter registration website (via a special cloaked redirection from a TurnUp URL).

Despite some initial difficulties (nearly 4,000 people clicked through

(top to bottom)

Curtain Twitchers: our humorous videoclip depicting an "old" elite scheming to control and monitor young people. Our message? The only way to stop the Curtain Twitchers is to vote

Response to government's VR website crashing
Our Social media Thunderclap reached 9.5 million people

With Twitter pushing the campaign, we got the hashtag trending during an incredibly popular digital "Thunderclap", which reached nearly 9.5 million people! Both ourselves and Bite The Ballot unveiled several videos, too, explaining how the registration process worked: one that treated the voter as a VIP and another from ourselves, "Curtain Twitchers" that poked fun at the idea of old people trying to stop the young from voting.

7 June approaching, we were mobilised.

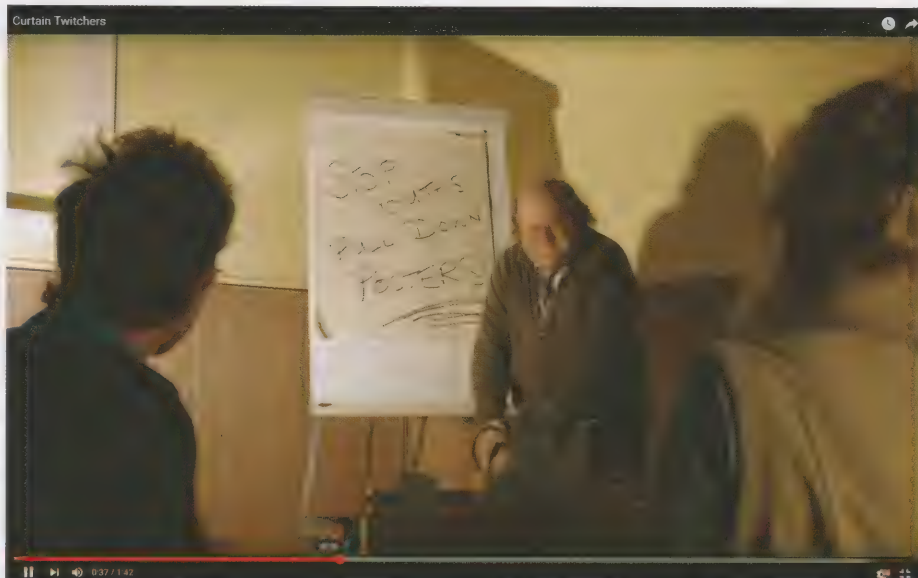
Website crash

In the hours leading up to midnight on 7 June, the government's VR website crashed. A frenzied debate took place the next day, with MPs eventually voting through an extension to the deadline for midnight of 9 June.

Thus prompted, we headed back onto social media, posting advertisements on Facebook and Instagram, encouraging people to register, while Bite The Ballot engaged in a massive social media push, too. We created a "Find The Facts" service, offering neutral information on the main topics the EU Referendum might throw up. By the time the vote finally took place, on 23 June, a record 33.5million people had taken part

Now the UK is embarking on a, perhaps uncertain new chapter. However, we can be proud of what we achieved with Bite The Ballot, and #TurnUp. Having a voice in a democracy is important and, in future, we will all be working hard to ensure that everyone is heard in the choices the nation makes for its future.

**A date which was extended to 9 June, following the crash of the Government's voter registration website*



**Please help us ensure
that the vote on 23 June
represents the views of
all those entitled to vote**

**Sign our petition
bit.do/let-them-vote**



#TURNUP

TurnUp to Vote!

by #TurnUp category: Politics

"I'm registered – are you? Don't miss out.
Register to vote for the #EUReferendum by 7
June #TurnUp <http://thndr.me/3g4mjW>"



#TurnUp

EMBED

SUPPORTERS
2,108 of 250
343% of goal supported

SOCIAL REACH
9,423,857
People

TIME LEFT
Complete
Ends Jun 06, 7:00 PM BST

YOUNG TURN OUT IN RECORD NUMBERS

64% of young people who were registered voted in the EU referendum, a sharp increase on the 51% who voted in last year's General Election.

However, this figure was still below every other age group.

18-24 (64%)

25-39 (65%)

40-54 (66%)

55-64 (74%)

65+ (90%)

1,000 neo-Nazis march through Dortmund

From Michael Klein in Hanover



Photo: flickr.com/photos/pressservice_rathenow/

THANKS TO A BIG police presence, 1,000 nazis from all over Germany and a handful of international nazis, including Combat 18 chief Will Browning, were able to march through traditional working class areas in Dortmund on 4 June for rally called "Day of The German Future".

Originally a project launched by long-time north German nazi activist Thomas Wulff, this annual demonstration of violent nazis was held in Dresden

(Saxony) and in Neuruppin (Brandenburg) in preceding years. While those events attracted some 500 followers, this year the number of nazis doubled, giving proof of the extraordinary relevance of Dortmund as an area of intense nazi presence and activity.

The city is a stronghold of the Die Rechte party founded by veteran fascist Christian Worch in May 2012. When the party gained a seat on the local council in May 2014, a group of nazis tried to storm

the town hall. Members of the democratic parties who faced down the mob were later prosecuted.

In November 2014, Dennis Giemsch, the nazi councillor, demanded to know, how many people of Jewish faith were resident in Dortmund. Close to the party is also a web site called antisem.it. The increased number of participants on the site is an expression of appreciation by the German nazi scene for the very aggressive and active network in Dortmund. ●

AfD turns further right

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN
IN HANOVER

ANTI-RECENT STATEMENTS by leading Alternative for Germany (AfD) politicians have given further evidence of its racist character. Prior to the European football championship in France, Alexander Gauland, head of the AfD in Brandenburg after forty years of membership in the conservative Christian Democratic Party, came out with a statement that German national soccer star Jérôme Boateng might be an excellent sportsman but that many people would not like to live next to someone like him.

He later said that he was speaking about people who are *raumfremd* and *kulturfremd*, terms close to Nazi terminology. Another AfD member of parliament in Baden-Württemberg is now under pressure for antisemitic remarks.

The AfD has denied cooperation with the Austrian Freedom Party and the Front National (FN) but recently, however, more and more leading AfD leaders have openly praised their contact with the two far right parties and their leadership.

AfD MEP Markus Pretzell recently joined the far right ENF group in the European Parliament in which the FN is the major player. His AfD colleague, Beatrix von Storch, joined the EFDD-group arguing that the FN is too socialist. In late January, von Storch spoke out in favour of shooting at refugees, including women and children, to stop them crossing Germany's borders.

THE UNITED STATES is experiencing a resurgence of activism – a renewed call for racial justice and the destruction of systemic racism and discrimination (finally!). Some call it a new civil rights movement, others a “post-civil rights movement”. One organisation declares on its T-shirts: “This ain’t yo daddy’s civil rights movement”.

Whatever label we use, we are witnessing something profound and powerful. And, while difficult to assess or even describe this moment since it has only just begun, some reflection is important. Particularly so, since it is happening in the midst of some of the most explicit and organised racist attacks, from both extremists and policymakers alike, that we have seen in some time.

Tired of systems designed to hyper-police black communities and black bodies, traumatised by living with the baleful results of at least 30 years of public policies – economic, housing, education, criminal justice, environmental, drugs – that have diminished the quality of life for African Americans, especially those living in poverty, confronted with the erosion of the hard-earned gains of the 1960s and a growing inequality gap in the 21st century, groups of young people have been galvanised by the murders of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and Michael Brown in 2014 and seemingly countless other deaths of black people at the hands of police and vigilantes.

They have taken to the streets, highways, shopping malls and campuses in protest, mobilised communities and formed groups like Black Lives Matter, Black Youth Project 100, Assata’s Daughters, the Dream Defenders, Hands Up United, the Black Liberation Collective and We Charge Genocide (to highlight just a few). They have created initiatives and campaigns like Campaign Zero, #SayHerName and #BlackGirlsMatter and clearing house spaces like “We The Protestors”.

Employing traditional organising tactics and contemporary strategies born of the internet, social media and big data, they are forcing change and getting results.

Black Lives Matter is arguably the most well known of the groups because it is a national network, a hashtag used to capture and tell the story of its work, and a rallying cry. According to its website, since 2014 there have been more than 1,030 protest actions and its first national gathering in July 2015 had over 1,000 participants.

Focusing on systemic transformation –not just access – this movement calls for the elimination of practices, systems and institutions that harm African American communities, especially law enforcement and the prison system. Some of this generation of activists name themselves

The 21st Century Black Lives in th

By Terri A. Johnson, Executive Director



y Movement for the United States

r, Center for New Community, Chicago



abolitionists, imagining completely different approaches.

Like its predecessor, this movement has multiple leaders (Black Lives Matter and others call it “leader-full”) – there is no single “saviour”.

Unlike the first civil rights movement, the contributions of women, gay, lesbian and transgender people are not hidden or erased. They are at the forefront of the work. Black Lives Matter was co-founded by three women, two of who identify as queer.

Most of these groups engage the political system differently. Not having to fight for the dismantling of practices that prevented African Americans from voting at state and local levels like their predecessors, this movement has catalysed a stronger black left throughout the political sphere.

Recently, the groups fought against the re-election of incumbent candidates in Chicago and Cleveland and successfully created an environment where the State’s Attorney in Chicago and the county prosecutor in Cleveland were not re-elected largely because they were slow — or failed — to prosecute police officers who shot and killed African American citizens: 17-year-old Laquan McDonald in Chicago and 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Cleveland.

Another key difference, often expressed by today’s activists, is philosophical. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a commitment to what is now called “respectability”. To get a “seat at the table of power,” many civil rights activists believed that they needed to prove themselves worthy and non-threatening. Today’s movement architects experience a world where changed laws and practices have not always resulted in changed behaviours. They know that “respectability” keeps nobody safe and, in the past, left many behind.

But even as today’s activists question the respectability approach, they are, in fact, trying to do something similar: what Black Lives Matters co-founder, Patrisse Cullors, calls a “rehumanising project.” As she explained during a recent segment of radio show, *On Being*, “We’ve lived in a place that has literally allowed for us to believe and center only black death. Literally whole human beings have been rendered to die prematurely, rendered to be sick and we’ve allowed for that. We have to change that.”

Like their parents and grandparents’ generations, these activists are taking their rage, frustration and grief and channelling it into their work for change. New voices in a very old struggle for freedom, they are leading an organised mass movement that is holding the United States accountable for its failure to uphold its democratic promises.

Nazis gather in Athens

From *Panayote Dimitras* for Greek Helsinki Monitor in Athens

ON 26 MARCH, the nazi Golden Dawn (GD) party held what it called its "8th party congress" in Athens. It lasted a mere four hours. The following day, the nazis held publicly what they called "a closing meeting of the congress" whose theme was "we want our fatherland back."

Besides the various GD MPs, the meeting was attended by the German nazi National Democratic Party MEP Udo Voigt and representatives of the Party of the Danes, of Belgium's NATION, of Italy's Casa Pound and of the French Nationalist Party (PNF) which had reactivated itself with Jean-Marie Le Pen's support just a fortnight before.

There was also a video address by Lega Nord MEP Lorenzo Fontana. Additionally, there was a four-person delegation from Australia and a representative from New York, where Golden Dawn has formed "Links of Greek Nationalists." Finally, Mikhail Kuznetsov one-time vice-chairman of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic addressed the meeting.

The congress was held in the midst of a consolidation period for the main Greek nazi party whose trial was effectively suspended early in 2016 because of a continuing lawyers' strike and the refusal of their Bar Associations to grant exceptions from the strike to their member lawyers involved in the GD trial in order to facilitate its continuation.

The trial resumed in June, but all the defendants were free as, on 18 March, the last still in custody, George Roupakias – who has admitted to having been the perpetrator of Greek leftist

rapper Pavlos Fyssas' murder – was set free following the expiry of all possible legal deadlines that could have kept him locked up. The lawyers' strike has also led to the postponement of the two trials of GD leader Nikos Mihaloliakos and GD MP Elias Kasidiaris, both for incitement to commit a crime of violence.

While GD's trial is postponed, a University of Macedonia opinion poll, published on 1 April, shows the party holding its third place with 6.5% (compared with 7% in the September 2016 elections), though now in a tie with the Communist KKE (which has gained 1% since the elections). These percentages are all the more impressive as a quarter of the electorate remains undeclared or undecided while the two governing parties, the left SYRIZA (Radical Left Coalition) and the extreme-right ANEL (Independent Greeks), have lost half of their support and the conservative main opposition party ND (New Democracy) is ahead but with a smaller percentage than when it was soundly defeated in the last elections.

The voters' profound dissatisfaction, coupled with the fact that ND now has a moderate leader, Kyriakos Mitsotakis instead of Antonis Samaras – its previous hardline leader through the elections – has led to the announcement of the formation of two more extremist parties.

Former MEP and MP Giorgos Karatzaferis, leader of LAOS, was joined in March at two public meetings in Athens and Thessaloniki, by two former ANEL MPs, a former Samaras cabinet general secretary and a former ND MP

and regional governor, as well as small extreme right and/or retired officer's groups, to announce the forthcoming formation of a new party, The Thessaloniki meeting was "blessed" by the nationalist local bishop and, in April, the party was officially launched with the name National Unity.

In the same period, two former GD MPs, along with several small extreme right groups and individuals, held a "pre-congress" of a new outfit to be called... LEPEN (initials in Greek for "Popular Greek Patriotic Union").

While National Unity is expected to have measurable, though small support, in opinion polls and may take a few voters away from both Golden Dawn and ANEL, LEPEN is expected to be supported by less than 1% of voters and not to threaten the dominant extreme right party in Greece.

Finally but totally unrelated to all that is the effort of the three centre-left parties PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) and Potami ("The River") – affiliated with the Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament – as well as KIDISO (Movement of Democrats Socialists), headed by the president of the Socialist International, George Papandreou but not represented in Parliament – to seek a way to join forces and create a respectable centre-left party that could supplant GD as Greece's third party. In September 2015, the joint score for PASOK and Potami, in the absence of KIDISO, exceeded 10% while, in January 2015, the joint score for the three parties was over 13%). ●



Austria's Presidential Election overturned by Constitutional Court

From *Martin Jordan* in Vienna

AUSTRIA'S HIGHEST COURT has thrown out the result of the presidential election narrowly lost by Norbert Hofer, the candidate of the right-wing extremist Freedom Party (FPÖ).

Alexander van der Bellen, a retired economics professor and former leader of the Green Party, won the second ballot of May's Austrian presidential election, in a dramatic finish, only 30,863 votes (0.6%) ahead of Hofer.

The election was decided by an extraordinary number of roughly 760 000 postal votes (ca. 12% of electorate) and triggered the FPÖ to dispute the election result on suspicion of ballot fraud and manipulations.

After intensive inquiries, the Constitutional Court emphasised in its 1 July verdict that no indication of ballot fraud or manipulation was found but that formal irregularities in the counting of the postal votes in several constituencies were reason enough to set aside the run-off election in its entirety. The contest between Van der Bellen and Hofer will, therefore, be repeated probably in the late autumn of this year.

Besides this unprecedented court decision against the slovenliness of the bureaucratic system, this already historic election probably marks the beginning of a major change in Austria's political system.

Austria is a structurally conservative country, where Catholic religious doctrine

still penetrates deep into society, and Austrians tend to find comfort in the generations old advice: "Stick with the poison you know".

But this election for the prestigious, but otherwise largely ceremonial Presidency, brought two candidates to the forefront that not so long ago would have been considered too extreme to have any chance against traditional establishment candidates.

Already in the first election round, both traditional mainstream parties, right (ÖVP) and left (SPÖ), suffered a historic defeat and were demoted to fourth and fifth place.

This sent shock waves through the political system in Austria. Front-runner and veteran ÖVP politician, Andreas Khol, labelled the shattering of the former mighty parties a "system breakdown".

The SPÖ reacted to the threat of such breakdown by swiftly exchanging its chairman and current Chancellor of Austria, Werner Faymann, whose favourability ratings are in the dumps, for a party insider who is a new face on the public stage.

Christian Kern is his name and he used to be a successful senior manager of state-owned enterprises such as Austria's leading electricity company and the Austrian Federal Railways.

He now has the hard task of getting the party and SPÖ-ÖVP government coalition back on track before the next national election in 2018,

where the FPÖ is currently seen as a main contender for first place.

Analysts and journalists likewise predict a significant aftermath of this presidential election for the political system in Austria. The way the election went reflects well the current anti-establishment and protest atmosphere in Austria, which is the result of a decennia-long rule (and now demise) of the SPÖ and ÖVP, their apparent inability to modernise and their inconsistent and inefficient politics when facing bigger challenges like the financial crisis or the ongoing refugee crises.

And even more importantly, people are fed up with the culture of client-membership politics established by the old parties in their domination of Austria since 1955.

The public's growing contempt for the SPÖ and ÖVP and the feeling of being screwed over again and again by "establishment politics" has lead to a strong voter polarisation, away from what was once considered the political centre.

Hofer dominates the categories of males, the countryside, social-economic pessimists and people with no more than compulsory schooling while Van der Bellen scores predominantly with females, in the bigger cities, among social-economic optimists and people with higher education.

Hofer and Van der Bellen together have received about 3 million votes that once belonged to the core

voters of the SPÖ and ÖVP including trade unionists who, all their life voted SPÖ, or farmers that knew nothing else than the ÖVP and now, for the first time, have voted for one of the candidates they previously considered on "extremes of the political spectrum".

Even if, in the run-off election, many people were not voting *for* somebody, but very much *against* somebody, the newly-discovered possibility of swing voting in the support base of SPÖ and ÖVP promises to bring even more dynamism and drama in future elections.

Apart from that, the re-run of Van der Bellen versus Hofer is expected to be a heated and emotional affair that could deepen the divisions opened up in May, fuelled by the FPÖ's unproven claims of manipulation and complaints of being victimised by the "elites" – which they have been propagating on social media since May – and growing anti-refugee sentiment.

The court's arguments to overturn the election were a rigid but just interpretation of the constitution. Even so, the same formal mistakes were happening (and known) over many years and never had such consequences.

The ramifications of this decision are to Hofer's undoubted advantage. The FPÖ gets a second chance to win the Presidency, as well as, new ammunition for its poisonous disinformation campaigns..

Ten years of Wilders' Freedom Party

From Jeroen Bosch for *Alert!* in Amsterdam

AT THE END OF February 2016, the Freedom Party (PVV) celebrated a decade of membership of the Dutch parliament but the story of its leader, the notorious and world infamous Geert Wilders, started in the summer of 2004, when he quit the right-wing liberal VVD.

At the end of 2004, following the brutal murder in Amsterdam of film maker Theo van Gogh by a radicalised Muslim, Wilders emerged to dominate the debate on Islam and was rapidly put under heavy guard by the Dutch state because of threats to his life. By the end of that year, it was forecast that he and his party could win as many as 28 parliamentary seats.

In 2006, he officially registered the PVV for elections and it duly entered parliament with 9 seats in November that year. A referendum about the European constitution then gave Wilders a chance to turn it into a campaign against negotiations with Turkey for entry to the EU (one of his main reasons for quitting the VVD) and maximise his profile. In an endless series of provocative statements,

whether in the media, on Twitter, in parliament, through amateur video clips or making such proposals as taxing headscarves or deporting Muslims from Europe, Wilders still runs the political debate.

His opponents in parliament, of whatever political belief, have struggled from the start with how to deal with Wilders. They are seemingly unable to find an answer to this maverick who delivers inflammatory statements, speeches, hate and discrimination, who attacks people verbally and who takes no responsibility for putting his ideas into law or for the consequences of his words and who does not play by conventional political rules.

Wilders style is wholly based on passionate personal expression and emotion and through his rhetorical ability he manages time and time again to find the next level of radicalisation.

And where will the PVV's growth end? His biggest victory so far, in 2010, ended in winning 24 seats in the Dutch parliament. In 2012, after a year and a half of propping up a government of the VVD and Christian

Democrats (CDA) and then quitting that cooperation, new elections gave Wilders just 15 seats.

Crossing a line Wilders himself had drawn in the sand earlier and entering cooperation with established right-wing racist and fascist parties like the French Front National, the Belgian Vlaams Belang and the Austrian Freedom Party, has cost him some councillors but his electorate is reportedly now willing to give him more than 30 parliamentary seats.

What has given him new wind is the protracted refugee crisis in Europe and he

now talks of becoming the next prime minister after the elections in 2017. His arguments for closing the borders to prevent so-called testosterone bombs – male immigrants – entering the Netherlands have found a twisted resonance in protests against refugees throughout the country. Angry mobs, among them sometimes known right-wing extremists, have besieged meetings of town councils, broken windows and daubed graffiti. Arson attempts against refugee hostels, mosques and supporters of refugees have taken place. Wilders





Photo: from flickr by Alex Proimos

of course distances himself from these violent antics but, nevertheless, calls for “continuing resistance”.

But who are his voters and supporters? Since the rise of the right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in 2001 – he was murdered in 2002 – researchers, scientists and politicians have published numerous reports and books about the motives of Wilders’ electorate.

The voters, it appears, do not care that the Freedom Party is essentially a one-man outfit where you cannot get a membership card and that the party is financed

by mainly US-based right-wing conservatives. They do not blame Wilders for the numerous scandals involving his fellow PVV parliamentarians.

They also do not care about his prosecution for hate speech about Moroccans in the Netherlands. It seems, rather, that his racist position on refugees, integration and Islam combined with a fake-leftist agenda on health care, pensions and social security attracts not only “angry white men” but also more and more young voters, no-voters, the highly educated and women.

The refugee crisis is

worrying a lot more people than just his usual fans and Wilders seems to be increasingly attractive with his one-line solutions, while other parties struggle with the issues. Most of his new voters emanate from the VVD and the Socialist Party.

If the current VVD-Labour coalition holds on for its full term, the next elections will be in March 2017 and that will be the next moment that the popularity of Wilders can be properly measured.

If the Freedom Party becomes the biggest party, it will probably not enter any government. All the

other parties have excluded him from cooperation, only the VVD saying “Maybe” if Wilders withdraws his incendiary statements about reducing the number of Moroccans in the Netherlands.

Wilders, in turn, has said he will not cooperate with the VVD while prime minister Mark Rutte is still there.

Wilders has already called for a revolt if he and his party continue to be shut out of the corridors of power. Not a revolution, but a change. How his followers will interpret their leader’s strident calls remains to be seen. ●



Brave Tess: “I was honouring Mandela”

From *Expo* in Stockholm

WHEN TESS ASPLUND placed herself right in the path of the nazis of the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR) marching in Borlänge, on 1 May, the moment was captured in a snapshot by *Expo* photographer David Lagerlöf that quickly went viral.

On the day, uniformed, chanting nazis strutted through the town, abusing bystanders as they went. To her eternal credit, Tess Asplund stepped out in front of the nazi column and stared the fascists down.

Her motive? “I was honouring Nelson Mandela. This is my struggle, and had they managed to intimidate me into silence they would have won,” Tess told *Expo*.

“I am a peaceful person,” she added,

“To me, the Nelson Mandela fist means freedom – freedom and peace. I am 5’3” tall and I weigh 110lb. I’m not big, but I wanted to show that one must dare”, she explained.

“Mandela is my major role model. He stood for the equal value of all people. He spent 27 years in prison and when he got out he spoke of peace. He was an incredible man. He stands completely for peace and justice, for me he is a man of love,” she explained.

The striking photo by *Expo* snapper, David Lagerlöf, has received international attention, going viral on social media. Many have called it “picture of the year” and have compared it with the iconic photo, usually referred to as “the lady with the

handbag”. That picture, taken by Hans Runesson in 1985, shows a woman in Växjö dolling a marching member of the nazi Nordic Reich Party round the head with her handbag.

Tess has been stunned by the attention. “What have David Lagerlöf and I done?” she joked. “For me it all happened so quickly. I went and stood there and then the police came and removed me. It only lasted a few seconds. I’m so surprised it’s gotten this big.”

An anti-racist for some time, Tess campaigns for refugees’ rights and is the spokesperson and deputy chairwoman of the organisation Fokus afrofobi, a watchdog group against anti-black racism.



Photo: Expo / David Lagerlöf

Revisionism rampant again in Croatia

From *Martin Barić* in Zagreb

IN APRIL 2016, two commemorations with immeasurable symbolic meaning for Croatia's recent history took place: one concerning the victims of the Ustaše regime in the ghastly Jasenovac death camp and another concerning the Bleiburg battlefield in Austria, commemorating the deaths of Nazi-allied Croatian troops, but also civilians.

Jasenovac

Jasenovac was a death camp, operated by the Ustaše regime of the Nazi-allied WWII Independent State of Croatia (NDH), which was used for imprisonment and mass murder of Serbs, Jews and Roma. It was established in August 1941 in a marshland at the confluence of the Sava and Una rivers near the village of Jasenovac, and was dismantled in April 1945. In Jasenovac, the majority of victims were ethnic Serbs, along with Jews, Roma and some anti-fascist or dissident Croats.

In 2016, because of a radicalisation of political situation in Croatia indicated by appointment of persons with overt pro-Ustaše sympathies as government officials (most notably, culture minister Hasanbegović), the commemoration was seen as an opportunity to oppose the government and show disagreement with the course of Croatian politics.

At the beginning of April, the Coordination of Jewish Communities in Croatia announced that it would boycott this year's commemoration event, the decision being made in order to protest against the poor cooperation of the Jasenovac Memorial Institution and against "the revitalisation of the Ustaše movement" in Croatia.

"The Coordination has decided not to attend the commemoration for the victims of the Jasenovac camp which is organised every year by the public



Monument to Jasenovac concentration camp.
Photo: Petar Milošević

institution, the Jasenovac Memorial Site (JUSP). The reason for this is our disagreement with the policy of inaction in relation to the changes to the exhibitions of the museums, the delay of the appointment of the Council of the JUSP and daily political events related to revitalisation of the Ustaše movement," said a statement.

The Serbian National Council (SNV) also made a unanimous decision not to take part in Croatia's commemoration event for its victims, thus joining the

Coordination of Jewish Communities in Croatia.

The SNV accused Croatia's Ministry of Culture of turning a blind eye to a letter that the SNV and other institutions had jointly sent in February in which they had expressed dissatisfaction at the logistics of commemoration preparations.

According to SNV, Croatia is trying to diminish and even deny the horrifying crimes that the Ustaše movement committed in Jasenovac. "At public



meetings, in the media and in public places, one can hear messages that are reviving the ideas of the Ustaše movement and extolling its ideology and representatives," said SNV president Milorad Pupovac.

At the official commemoration on April 22, attended by state officials, a scandal broke out when a wreath with the message "For victims of Jasenovac camp from 1941 to 1951" was laid in front of the central monument, alluding to a far right historical revisionist thesis

that Jasenovac functioned as a death camp predominantly after WWII, an opinion lately widely used to justify the wartime Ustaše regime.

Another, more appropriate, commemoration was held by the Anti-Fascist League, a network of civil society organizations and the Union of Anti-Fascist Veterans of Croatia, joined by the Serb National Council and the Coordination of Jewish Communities.

The event was held on the same date as the state commemoration (22 April) at the Square of the Victims of Fascism in central Zagreb. That event called for an end to the denial and diminution of fascist crimes and historical revisionism as well as for a decisive affirmation of the anti-fascist legacy of present-day Croatia.

Bleiburg

In February 2016, the presidency of the Croatian Parliament voted to reintroduce official support for the annual nationalist commemoration in Bleiburg.

After the end of WWII on 9 May 1945, Ustaše regime officials and army refused to lay down their weapons and surrender to Josip Broz Tito's anti-fascist Yugoslav partisan army but, instead, marched to Bleiburg in today's Austria province of Carinthia where they wanted to surrender to the British Army.

The group marching to Bleiburg – where they arrived on 15 May 1945 – consisted of Independent State of Croatia (NDH) soldiers, members of the paramilitary group HOS and many citizens who were collaborators of the fascist regime and felt they would be prosecuted or killed if stayed in Croatia's capital, Zagreb after the entry of Yugoslav troops.

The British turned imprisoned Ustaše (some 90 000 persons) over to the Yugoslav army that was nearby and

provisional detention was arranged until the end of May 1945 when the Yugoslav army started evacuate the prisoners to prisons firstly in Slovenia but afterwards in all of the socialist republics of Yugoslavia. Walking in long columns, some prisoners died of exhaustion, never reaching prisons, or were killed during the march.

The decision to resume the commemoration came after the parliamentary presidency had withdrawn its sponsorship in 2012 with the centre-left majority claiming at the time that the commemoration was being used to rehabilitate the ideology of the Croatian WWII-era Nazi puppet regime, the Independent State of Croatia, NDH.

The current Speaker of Parliament, Željko Reiner from the governing centre-right Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), and his party colleague, Ante Sanader, supported the renewed sponsorship, as did others from the governing coalition – Ivan Tepeš from the extreme right-wing Croatian Party of Rights "Ante Starčević" and Robert Podolnjak from centre-right Bridge of Independent Lists, MOST.

The most contentious element of the Bleiburg commemoration is the fact that the previous commemorations were often laden with Ustaše iconography and served as "neutral ground" for displaying pro-fascist symbols that could not otherwise be on display in Croatia.

According to media reports, this year was mostly without incident in this respect, possibly due to the certainty that the commemoration, now under renewed parliamentary sponsorship, would be rather more closely scrutinised by the public.

Whatever is the case, it is clear that the trend is push Croatian politics far to the right in both contemporary and historical terms.

HOPE not hate's Understa the 'Counter-Jihad' Confe

**Joe Mulhall reports from
a two-day conference on
anti-Muslim hatred**

AS LONDONERS went to the polling stations in May to elect their new mayor, Sadiq Khan, the press was full of articles and opinion pieces condemning the nasty "dog whistle" campaign run by Conservative candidate Zac Goldsmith.

In a widely criticised campaign, Goldsmith sought to stoke anti-Muslim sentiment. At the same time, Donald Trump was pretty much confirmed at the Republican nominee for President of the United States.

It was against this backdrop that activists, campaigners and scholars came together at the Bishopsgate Institute in London for a two-day

conference on anti-Muslim hatred called *Understanding the 'Counter-Jihad' Movement*.

Those present included representatives of the Center for New Community and the Southern Poverty Law Centre in the USA, EXPO in Sweden, Der rechte Rand in Germany, the Online Hate Prevention Institute in Australia and Tell Mama and New Horizons in British Islam from the UK.

A number of academics also presented research on anti-Muslim activism including Joel Busher from the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University, Sindre Bangstad



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from The Institute For Church, Religion and Worldview Research in Oslo, Norway and Bulcsú Hunyadi from Political Capital based in Budapest, Hungary.

Among the questions the meeting set out to tackle was what exactly the so-called 'counter-jihad' movement (CJM) is and whether it is right to call it a 'movement' at all.

It was generally agreed that there is a small international network of connected activists that defines itself as 'counter-jihadist'. In addition to this is a much wider group of people and organisations that – while unconnected – adheres to the same ideas and contributes in various

ways to anti-Muslim sentiment, namely what might be called the "counter-jihad" or anti-Muslim milieu.

Both the formal network and the unconnected wider circles are united by a common belief that Western civilisation is actively under attack, not just from Islamist extremists but also by Islam itself, thus making Muslims a threat. Central to this is the idea that intentionally, in a conspiratorial manner, or unintentionally, through ignorance, this alleged project of Islamic conquest is being aided by liberals and the left.

Importantly, the conference noted how many of the first wave of international organisations within the scene that were influential in 2012 have either become much less active or have ceased to exist.

This is the case for groups such as Geert Wilders' International Freedom Alliance, the European Freedom Initiative, the International Civil Liberties Alliance and its linked programmes, The Brussels Process and Victims of Sharia Action Network (VOSAN), Stop Islamization of Nations and its affiliates like SIOE Belgie, SIOE France, SIOE Deutschland and SIOE England. In addition, the European Defence League network has all but evaporated and attempts to launch a Pegida network has had similar difficulties in mobilising successfully on an international scale.

While this appears to be positive a much more worrying trend was picked up on across Europe and North America, namely the shift of "counter ideas from the margins to the mainstream" and, as the Centre For New Community so

rightly describes it, the ideas and people are "extreme but not fringe".

It is in Eastern and Central Europe where this issue is most pronounced with high profile figures openly airing anti-Muslim beliefs. Special concern was raised about the actions of Hungarian premier Viktor Orbán and his party Fidesz who have been very tough on arriving refugees by building a wall to try to stop their entry.

More worrying, though, is Orbán's use of recurring "counter-jihadist" themes about "invasion" and conspiracy theories to explain the migrant crisis.

Similar mainstreaming was noted in America with a number of Donald Trumps' advisory team being "counter-jihad" activists.

Perhaps the most striking thing to emerge from the two-day conference was how similar are the challenges are that we face in our respective countries. While there are differences, there were also large areas of overlap. Across Europe and North America, it seems that the failure of social democratic parties to address the needs of those who are victims of globalisation has created a wellspring of people susceptible to the anti-Muslim message.

The facts that we face similar challenges in different countries and that "counter-jihadism" is international make it vital to cooperate across borders.

The conference was designed to be a springboard towards working more closely together to share information and combat organised anti-Muslim hatred wherever it is active.



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#MoreInCommon



2 - 4 September A weekend of Unity

Over the first weekend of September HOPE not hate and a host of other organisations and networks will be holding events across the to bring our communities together and celebrate what we have in common.

For more information, visit:
hopenothate.org.uk/more-in-common



HOPE not hate

